



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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11 December 1992

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Cameroon

Government Communique on Archbishop's Statement

AB1112102092 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in French 1900 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Government communique on Bamenda Archbishop's allegations on arrest of 400 opposition members—date and place not given]

[Text] The Cameroonian Government hereby refutes the allegations made by the Archbishop of Bamenda on Radio France Internationale at 0630 on 7 December. Indeed, the archbishop said, among other things that more than 400 people were currently in detention in Bamenda, following the imposition of the state of emergency, and were submitted to unjustifiable physical and moral torture.

The Government hereby states that apart from the 96 people who were charged after the investigations were completed, 60 others will be released for lack of evidence whereas about 100 suspects, including 15 who came from Fundong on 6 December and 13 others from Bengue, are still in police custody pending further investigation. They are presumed innocent until proven otherwise.

Consequently, considering that all human beings are equal before God and the law, the government hereby expresses concern over the frivolous, spiteful, and irresponsible statement made by a respected prelate who remained surprisingly silent when witnessing murder, and the destruction by fire of public and private property, as well as inhuman brutalities when the presidential election results were published on 23 October.

Despite these acts of provocation perpetrated for unavowed reasons, the Cameroonian Government will never change its respectful attitude towards the churches in general and the Catholic Church in particular, whose contribution to the country's development cannot be denied.

Congo

New Premier Assumes Office, Comments

AB1112111492 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] In Brazzaville, the highlight of the news is the official induction into office on 7 December of new Prime Minister Claude Antoine da Costa. This was during a ceremony of transfer of authority between Mr.

da Costa and his predecessor, Maurice Stephane Bongho-Nouarra that took place at the Prime Minister's office at Station Square. Mr. da Costa, who set to work immediately, examined some dossiers, namely the legislative elections, the Ogooue Mining Company issue, and the big problem of retrenchment in the civil service. Concerning the magnitude of the task ahead of him, let us listen to his impressions. Before that he expresses his feelings of apprehension despite his optimism.

[Begin recording] [Da Costa] Of course, my fear cannot be dissipated in two days; I mean fear in the objective sense. Before, it was an emotional reaction, but now it is based on absolutely positive elements. Yes, my fear still exists.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, you are still apprehensive, but do you count on anyone to succeed in your mission?

[Da Costa] I believe that I will do all that is necessary to mobilize all energies, mainly all experiences. I am speaking to those of my age group who share my memories, and who still have much experience to offer to Congo. They should not lose hope; mainly, they should not give up. I would also like to take the opportunity to tell all Congolese that one must enjoy one's liberty, and, why not, one's dignity, today or never. It is today or never. The man heading the state is so mentally strong and so good intellectually that the citizen who does not enjoy his liberty will forgo his liberty. This is the message I have as prime minister. It is in this liberty that we will find the needed help to overcome the great fear that is in us.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, the president of the Republic assigned you the mission of forming the new government of national union. How are the negotiations going on, mainly with the opposition?

[Da Costa] I am from a nonpolitical organization and I am not one of those who view politics in an African way. I do not know much about that. For me Congo is Congo, and that is all. There are no Congolese from the opposition, and Congolese from....[changes thought] The present problems are Congo's problems, they are not problems of a leftist tribe or a rightist tribe, and that is how I view the question. Of course, I tackle problems ruggedly and awkwardly. I am not a politician; I apologize for that. I cannot influence the state of things. I have a mission to fulfill and a deadline to do it. The Constitution must be respected and it will be respected. In negotiations, one should not be discouraged. I am holding contacts and I believe that I will complete them. When President Lissouba returns, he will find on his desk the decree forming the government as well as that fixing the electoral timetable. I believe that all those problems will be solved by the end of the weekend. [end recording]

Djibouti

Radio Confirms Troops To Go to Somalia

EA1012205192 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali 1700 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The Republic of Djibouti has decided to participate in the military measures which the world is undertaking in Somalia. Two hundred and fifty Djibouti troops will soon arrive in Somalia to join the multinational forces in order to participate in humanitarian tasks. The decision to send the troops was announced today by Defense Minister Ismail Ali Youssouf.

Somalia

Armed Men Open Fire on Troops; No Casualties

EA1012161892 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Armed men opened fire on troops in Mogadishu taking part in Operation Save Somalia [as heard]. No casualties have been reported.

More troops are expected to land in Somalia today to take part in the [UN] sponsored operations.

French Forces Kill 2 Somalis, Injure 7

AB1012181592 Paris AFP in French 1724 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Mogadishu, 10 Dec (AFP)—At least four Somalis were seriously wounded during clashes with French forces this evening in Mogadishu, it was noted on the spot. The clashes occurred when a vehicle forced its way into a road block mounted by forces of the 2nd Overseas Paratrooper Regiment [REP, Legionnaire] in the center of the city.

Gunfire broke out on both sides, according to eyewitnesses, who could not give further details on the circumstances leading to the clashes.

[AFP adds at 1759 GMT: "Two Somalis were killed and seven injured, two seriously, in an incident this evening with French forces in Mogadishu, according to the French command post. A truck transporting 13 or 14 Somalis forced its way into a road block manned by REP troops who opened fire, according to the same source."]

Somalis Warned Against Challenging Roadblocks

EA1112081592 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 0430 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] A spokesman for the Ministry of Information and National Heritage of the interim government disclosed that on 10 December, Somali soldiers in a technical vehicle with mounted with a machine gun forcibly drove through a roadblock manned by French soldiers at No. 4 [a residential area in Mogadishu], an area occupied by General Aidid's soldiers. The spokesman further said two Somali soldiers had been killed while several others

were wounded during the incident. The technical vehicle was captured while other Somali soldiers who were in the technical vehicle fled.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Information and National Heritage warned Somalis against such incidents since they could trigger off unnecessary confrontations, resulting in serious loss of life.

The spokesman further added that since the operations of the foreign troops were to restore hope in the country, anything which could jeopardize them should be avoided. The foreign troops should be extended full support in their operations, in accordance with the call made by the interim president of the Somali Republic, Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed.

Ali Mahdi, Aidid Agree To Meet 11 Dec

Ali Mahdi Confirms Meeting

EA1012173992 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The president of Somali Republic, Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed, today received in his office the UN special envoy to Somalia, Mr. Ismat Kittani. The president thanked the United Nations for its tremendous efforts. The president called on the United Nations to continue its efforts. The president also thanked them for the UN Operation Somalia [UNOSOM] sponsored conference held recently in Addis Ababa. The president further said he is very pleased with the operations being carried out here by the U.S. troops.

The president informed the envoy that on 11 December, he will meet General Mohamed Farah Aidid as requested by U.S. Ambassador Robert Oakley. He said that further meetings with Aidid would be held on 12 December. The president said that he is optimistic that the meetings with his main rival would help solve the differences between them.

Speaking during his meeting with President Ali Mahdi, Mr. Ismat Kittani said another UNOSOM-sponsored meeting would be held on 4 January. The envoy said that the reconciliation meeting, which would involve all Somali movements, would take place in Addis Ababa. The envoy added that he is very pleased with the peaceful atmosphere present in Mogadishu.

The meeting was attended by the first vice president, Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden Sobe, and the minister in the Presidency, Dr. Aways Haji Yusuf.

Aidid Confirms Meeting

EA1012190892 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali 1700 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] A press statement released today by the office of Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid, the chairman of the Somali National Alliance [SNA] and United Somali Congress [USC], says that, in line with the SNA chairman's peace

call on 2 November this year to unify the USC, resolve existing disagreements, and unblock roads in Mogadishu, he has accepted [U.S.] Ambassador Robert Oakley's plan to convene a meeting between Ali Mahdi Mohamed and himself, and therefore looks forward to meeting brother Ali Mahdi Mohamed.

The statement added that Ali Mahdi has agreed to meet brother Aidid. The two men will meet on 11 December at the U.S. embassy in Mogadishu, God willing. The meeting is the first of its kind in a year.

The press statement released by the office of the SNA and USC chairman added that USC members have been trying for a long time to bring Aidid and Ali Mahdi face to face. The two men will again meet on 12 December aboard a French ship which is carrying relief food donated by French students to the needy Somali people. Bernard Kouchner, the French health minister, played a part in making the meeting possible.

All the officials, writers, reporters, technicians and employees of the Somali National Information Department wish Mohamed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed success in their meeting—a meeting which will play a big role in advancing the Somali people's unity. The Information Department expresses its special thanks to those who played a role in arranging the meeting, which is expected to take place tomorrow in Mogadishu, God willing.

Warlords Agree To Withdraw From Capital

AB1112143692 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Mogadishu, Dec 11 (AFP)—Rival Somali warlords Mohamed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi agreed Friday morning to withdraw their armed loyalists from the Somali capital within the next 48 hours, a joint communique said here. The two men embraced in front of journalists and called for "all Somalis to commit themselves to ending hostilities."

They agreed to remove the "green line" that has divided this battered city, leaving Aidid in control of the larger southern district and Ali Mahdi in the northern Karaan area.

The two leaders met here Friday for the first time in more than a year as part of a United Nations effort to end bloody factional fighting in the famine-stricken east African nation. The meeting took place at the residence of U.S. President George Bush's special envoy, Robert Oakley. The residence is temporarily located in a building belonging to the Conoco oil company.

Robert Johnston, the U.S. lieutenant-general directing a U.N.-mandated international military operation to restore order to Somalia, also attended the meeting, along with Ismat Kittani, U.N. operations chief in Mogadishu.

Fighting broke out between forces loyal to Aidid and Ali Mahdi in November 1991, leaving 30,000 people dead or wounded in Mogadishu alone. A ceasefire was imposed in March.

UNICEF Evacuates Officials From Kismaayo

AB1012154192 Paris AFP in English 1421 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Mogadishu, Dec 10 (AFP)—The U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) planned to evacuate three of its officials from the southern Somali town of Kismaayo on Thursday [10 December] after clan fighting, a spokesman said.

Fighting between rival clans has been reported in the town, said Ian MacLeod of UNICEF, adding that the agency had sent a plane to Kismaayo carrying money to pay UNICEF suppliers before the three officials were evacuated.

On Wednesday a plane arranged by the U.N. World Food Programme flew 13 U.N. officials and relief workers out of Kismaayo.

MacLeod, a UNICEF information officer acting as temporary spokesman for U.N. special envoy Ismat Kittani, said the only foreigners who would remain in Kismaayo were a handful of medical workers of the Belgian branch of Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) and the International Committee of the Red Cross, to treat the wounded.

He said it had not been decided whether the UNICEF staffers would be flown to Mogadishu or to neighboring Kenya.

Widespread looting has been reported in Kismaayo, where Claire Gallois of MSF-Belgium said Wednesday in Nairobi that some 60 Somalis were killed and 40 injured in clashes over looted booty overnight Tuesday.

Kismaayo is controlled by the Somali Patriotic Movement of Colonel Omar Jays, who allied with General Mohamed Farah Aidid's United Somali Congress to seize Kismaayo in May before their supporters fell out.

UN Food Convoy Postponed Indefinitely

AB1112084092 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Mogadishu, Dec 11 (AFP)—A food convoy that was to reopen the road Friday between northern and southern Mogadishu, held by rival Somali factions, was postponed indefinitely after two Somalis were killed in a confrontation with French troops. Rick Grant, an official from the humanitarian organization CARE, said the operation was put off for "coordination reasons" between Pakistani troops here and U.S. marines who would escort the convoy. But observers said the decision could be linked to rising tensions in Mogadishu after Thursday's [10 December] incident here in which French troops opened fire at a truck that broke through a checkpoint. Two Somalis died in the encounter and seven were wounded.

Mogadishu is cut in half by a "green line" separating the two rival factions of General Mohamed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed. [passage omitted]

The U.S. and French troops control the airport, the port and a "security zone" in southern Mogadishu.

Crossing the "green line" into the north would be a major step for the international force taking part in Operation Restore Hope because of the numerous armed factions in the area.

The French ambassador to Kenya, Michel de Bonne-
corse, who has been named special representative to
Somalia by his government, was due later Friday in the
Somali capital. More than 30,000 troops are expected to
take part in Operation Restore Hope, aimed at pro-
tecting humanitarian aid for the starving in Somalia.

French Minister's Visit To Mogadishu Postponed

AB1112151992 Paris AFP in French 0843 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Mogadishu, 11 Dec (AFP)—The visit that Bernard
Kouchner, French minister of health and humanitarian
action, was to make to Mogadishu over the next few days,
has been postponed, according to Patrice Franceschi, an
official of the French humanitarian action.

During this visit, Mr. Kouchner was to attend a meeting
between the two clan chiefs who control Mogadishu,
namely Ali Mahdi and Mohamed Farah Aidid, aboard
the French ship Tadorne. No explanation was given for
this postponement.

A meeting between Mr. Aidid and Ali Mahdi is expected
to take place today in Mogadishu under the auspices of
Robert Oakley, President Bush's envoy.

Furthermore, Michel de Bonnacorse, France's ambas-
sador to Kenya, charged with representing France in
Somalia, arrived late this morning in Mogadishu.

SNA Defeats SSDF, 'Remnants' in Galguduud

*EA1012203492 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1700 GMT 10 Dec 92*

[Text] A spokesman for the Somali National Alliance (SNA)
today announced that the Somali Salvation Democratic
Front (SSDF), in alliance with remnant soldiers of Siad
Barre had launched unprovoked attacks against settlements
in Cadaado District, Galguduud region. In response to the
attacks, the Somali Liberation Army (SLA), counter-
attacked and heavily defeated the invaders, recapturing
(Gilitor) settlement in Cadaado district.

The SLA also captured an assortment of weapons,
including three T-55 battle tanks, one [name indistinct]
assault rifle, one jeep and the vehicle on which it was
mounted [as heard], two technicals [battle-modified
trucks], two [name indistinct], one four-wheel drive
Toyota, and [word indistinct].

The SNA spokesman added that the SLA forces, in line
with the SNA's previous call for peace, were engaged in
the task of defending areas attacked by the SSDF and
remnant soldiers of Siad Barre's alliance, and would
reply in kind if provoked, God willing.

Kenya

Moi Meets U.S. Assistant Secretary for Africa

*EA1012194992 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Dec 92*

[Excerpt] President Daniel arap Moi today at State
House, Nairobi, held talks with the U.S. assistant secre-
tary of state for African affairs, Dr. Herman Cohen.

During the talks, Dr. Cohen thanked President Moi for
Kenya's contribution in facilitating the work of Opera-
tion Restore Hope in war-torn Somalia. The two dis-
cussed long-term political solutions to the Somali con-
flict. Dr. Cohen said the USA expected Kenya and other
neighboring countries to find the solution. President Moi
said Kenya hoped that Somalia, as a neighbor, would
attain peace. He added that Kenya would do its best in
this regard.

The two also reviewed the prospects for peace in the
Sudan. President Moi briefed Dr. Cohen on his various
contacts with the parties to the conflict. They agreed that
those groups should be encouraged to continue with
dialogue for an amicable solution to the long-drawn
conflict. [passage omitted]

[At 1800 GMT, the station reports: "The U.S. assistant
secretary of state for African affairs, Dr. Herman Cohen,
today restated America's neutrality regarding Kenya's
internal inter-party politics. Mr. Cohen, who was on
transit to Somalia to assess the on-going UN operation to
restore hope, spearheaded by the U.S., said America is
interested in democracy but does not support any party.

["On the Somalia operation, where his country has sent
1,800 troops to facilitate safe delivery of relief food to the
starving Somali people, Mr. Cohen described the operation
as a short one to be followed by a second phase to restore
peace and to help set up governmental authority. He said
neighboring countries will play a crucial role as they under-
stand the situation in Somalia. Mr. Cohen, however,
asserted that the operation in Somalia was no substitute to
a practical political solution. The U.S. official said his
country will be seeking President Moi's advice on the future
of the war-torn Somalia. He further expressed appreciation
towards Kenya's cooperation and assistance to the Somali
people."

[KTN Television in English at 1600 GMT carries a
report on the Cohen visit: "Herman Cohen today said
that there is hope for restoring peace and stability in
war-torn Somalia. Cohen was addressing the press when
he stopped at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport
for a one-day visit to Kenya. He said the warring factions
had reached a point of dialogue on a cease-fire.

["Commenting on the ongoing election process in Kenya, Cohen said the U.S. was funding observers to attend the elections and called on all foreign observer governments to be neutral to give Kenyans the freedom to elect candidates of their choice."]

[The station then carries a video recording of Cohen, who gives the following remarks: "The present operation is not a substitute for a political solution, and the search for a political solution must continue with great speed. Somalis are beginning to talk to each other for the first time instead of shooting at each other. So, as I said before, the political process to restore governmental authority must go on at all times. UN operations are merely to give them breathing space."]

[He is then cited on the Kenyan elections: "Our support lies in expertise and in observers who can make constructive criticism about what they see. But I do not think we should get involved in the details of internal maneuvering between political parties. It is very important that all governments, especially the U.S., remain completely neutral in Kenyan politics. We do not want to support anyone in this election. We support only democracy."]

FORD, KANU Present Nomination Papers

EA1012144192 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Reports reaching the KBC [Kenya Broadcasting Corporation] newsroom indicate that the presentation of nomination papers exercise went on smoothly in most areas countrywide. The reports show that so far the ruling party, KANU [Kenya African National Union], had a head start by having 13 constituencies without opposition penetration. The constituencies are Baringo Central, Baringo North, Baringo East, Baringo South, Buret, Aldai, Mosop, Tinderet, Narok South, Kerio East, Kerio West, and Kerio Central. Other KANU seats were captured in two constituencies in Kericho and Wajir districts, respectively. [sentence as heard]

Elsewhere in Nairobi, Westlands and Starehe constituencies had the most candidates with a representation of seven candidates in each constituency. The reports also indicate that 11 candidates presented their nomination papers as independent candidates on a PICK, Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya, ticket. [passage omitted]

And in Limuru [Central Province northwest of Nairobi] police fired in the area to disperse supporters of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Asili candidate, George Nyanja, who were charging at supporters of KANU candidate, Kuria Kanyingi. The fracas occurred after Mr. Kanyingi presented his papers and started addressing his supporters when Nyanja's supporters came and surrounded them hurling abuses. And in a related development, the Limuru OCPD [Officer in charge of Police Division], Mr. Angote, confirmed on

Monday night [7 December] that some people burnt cars and livestock in the area. [passage omitted]

Ten Confess To Membership in DP Private Army

AB1012183192 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1000 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Eight ex-servicemen and two former administration policemen have confessed to having been recruited into a clandestine army by the Democratic Party [DP] of Kenya with the intention of causing chaos and bloodshed in the event that president wins the presidency. The group, who claim to come from Nyandarua and Laikipia Districts, said in a signed statement that they were recruited into the private army on 3 July this year.

They said it was shortly before a DP meeting held at the Nyahururu stadium. They alleged that the recruiting officers were a Mr. Njagi and Capt (retired) Michuki. They said they were responding to a call made recently by other alleged recruits in the DP army to come out in the open and denounce their membership.

Uganda

Radio Cites Kenyan Communique on Border

EA1012173392 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] We have just received a statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announcing that the Government of Uganda has now received a clarification from the Kenya Government regarding the announcement which was made in connection with the closure of the Kenya-Uganda border on 8 December 1992. This clarification is as follows:

- 1) that the objective of the announcement was to strengthen security at the border;
- 2) that people on either side will be cleared to cross the border;
- 3) that trains will continue to move normally;
- 4) that petroleum products will be allowed through to Uganda;
- 5) that the Kenya Government will abide by the Northern Corridor Agreement and other international laws;
- 6) that the Kenya civil servants who are to implement the announcement will find ways of meeting their Ugandan counterparts to work out the necessary protocols; and,
- 7) that transit traffic will continue to move normally.

The Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation has promised to assist in any possible way to remove any obstacles that may bring misunderstanding.

Fire Bomb Attack on Ficksburg Home 10 Dec*MB1112082592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0812
GMT 11 Dec 92*

[Text] Ficksburg, [Orange] Free State, Dec 11 SAPA—Police and army units are searching for four attackers believed to be responsible for a Thursday [10 December] night handgrenade, petrol bomb and gun attack on the home of a Ficksburg police widow.

Bloemfontein police said Mrs C. G. Roos and her two daughters, aged 12 and six years respectively, were woken up shortly after 10pm by their barking dogs and people running past their house.

Moments later the house was shaken by several explosions and gun fire.

Mrs Roos, a police warrant officer's widow, and her daughters were unhurt and fled to their neighbours for safety.

Meanwhile, police said, a police patrol manning a road block on the nearby Ficksburg bypass to the Lesotho border had heard the shots and explosions and rushed to the scene.

On their way, shots were fired at the police vehicle on the bypass and Sgt O. Coetzee was wounded in the left knee.

Simultaneously shots were fired from the road side at a passing taxi minibus on its way to the nearby Lesotho border post.

A passenger, Mrs K. Tsotsetse, 44, was hit in the back and seriously wounded.

Other policemen had since arrived at the Roos family's home where they also came under rifle fire.

Police returned fire and the attackers fled.

It was believed that four people had been involved in the attack on the Roos family, police said.

On further investigation police found a handgrenade had been lobbed through the bedroom window of the Roos children while the house had been peppered by rifle fire.

Near the house, police also found several exploded and unexploded petrol bombs and a number of spent R4 or R5 rifle cartridges.

Next to the bypass where the police car and the minibus had come under simultaneous fire, police also found spent rifle cartridges as well as a petrol bomb.

The injured policeman and the wounded taxi passenger were taken to the Bethlehem Hospital where their conditions were described as serious, police said.

CP Seeks Arrest of PAC Leadership*MB1112073692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0338
GMT 11 Dec 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 11 SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] on Friday [11 December] called on the government to arrest the leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA], and to ban both organisations immediately.

The demand followed on a handgrenade and petrolbomb attack on a house in the eastern [Orange] Free State town of Ficksburg on Thursday [10 December] night. Two people were injured in the attack.

In a statement issued by telephone to SAPA, CP Law and Order Spokesman Schalk Pienaar claimed the attack was launched by APLA cadres and said the PAC was now "public enemy number one".

"It is typical of the revolutionary organisation to put up a diplomatic face for the purpose of negotiations whilst in fact its real face is a terrorist one—murdering, maiming and intimidating people into subjugation."

The PAC was a "murder machine" intent on killing white South Africans and it should be treated as such, Mr Pienaar charged, adding that it was now necessary for preventive measures to be taken to protect white South Africans.

This would mean the arrest of the PAC and APLA leadership and the banning of both organisations as the futility of negotiating with the PAC has been proven beyond doubt by the recent attacks on whites.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel should also resign immediately or be fired by the state president following "revelations about him knowing about the (planned) attacks for two months without warning white South Africans".

"White South Africans demand preventive action, not pie-in-the-sky negotiations or mere statements of promises," Mr Pienaar said.

AWB Vows Revenge if APLA Attacks Continue*MB1112073592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2133
GMT 10 Dec 92*

[Text] Queenstown Dec 10 SAPA—No force on earth will prevent militant rightwing Leader Eugene Terreblanche "from getting" Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] General Secretary Benny Alexander if APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] continued to attack whites.

The Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] leader said this on Thursday [10 December] night during an address to a packed town hall in Queenstown, the scene of a restaurant bomb attack last week which left one person dead and 17 injured.

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) claimed responsibility for the blast and an earlier attack in King William's Town in which four people died and 17 were injured.

APLA subsequently declared war on white South Africans.

"APLA has declared war and I can assure the organisation it will get war if it continues with attacks, especially on soft targets.

"At the Christmas party in King William's Town they meant to kill all 80 people present and would have done so had they not been too stupid to handle sophisticated weapons correctly."

Mr Terreblanche urged men, women and children to train in preparation for the struggle which would surely come. He assured his audience it would not be alone when trouble came.

He warned that the communist threat was ever present.

Mr Terreblanche called on State President F. W. de Klerk to resign because he was selling the country out to the African National Congress [ANC], the PAC and APLA.

Referring to Wednesday's South African Defence Force [SADF] announcement of rationalisation, the AWB leader said it was ridiculous that in a war situation the SADF and SA Police were inviting ANC and APLA members to replace competent generals.

He described Mr de Klerk as a war criminal who would one day have to answer to the people for his deeds.

"The best thing the state president could do would be to call an election and get out of politics along with his ministers who say they know nothing about corruption involving millions of rand for which no-one is taking responsibility."

Transkei Ruler Denies APLA Bases in Homeland

MB1012180792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1720 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Umtata Dec 10 SAPA—Transkeian military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said on Thursday the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] had no bases in the homeland.

"The threat issued by (Law and Order) Minister Hernus Kriel to conduct cross-border operations does not pose a threat to us because there are no APLA bases in the Transkei," Gen Holomisa said in a statement issued in Umtata.

Mr. Kriel told a news conference in Pretoria earlier on Thursday the government would consider mounting cross-border raids into in pursuit of APLA fighters.

APLA's political wing, the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC], has offices in Zimbabwe and there have been reports fighters were being trained in the Transkei.

Gen Holomisa appealed to the international community to "keep a vigilant eye on the possible aggressive behaviour of South Africa against the Transkei".

The international community "should weigh the facts whether the apportioning of blame to transkei as a spring-board for attacks by APLA on South Africa is not a political gimmick to compel the territory's inhabitants to willy nilly pander to the dictates of the RSA Government".

Transkei Says No APLA Training Bases

MB1112071992 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 10 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] South Africa's Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has been reacting angrily to the killing of a number of white people in attacks allegedly by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, APLA. He has been claiming that it has bases and support in neighboring Zimbabwe and in the South African homeland of Transkei and he says he will consider mounting cross-border raids against APLA camps. On the line to Transkei, Robin White asked Chief Minister General Bantu Holomisa how he reacted to that threat.

[Holomisa] Well, I am not afraid of the threats because there are no APLA bases in Transkei, and if he knows of any, he is welcome to come and point them.

[White] Do you have any relations with APLA at all?

[Holomisa] APLA and other military wings of the liberation movements were unbanned and are still unbanned in Transkei unconditionally. So, they are free to roam around the streets and the rural areas of Transkei, as is the case in South Africa today.

[White] So, you are not denying that there are maybe APLA members in Transkei?

[Holomisa] No, we are not denying that fact. There are members of the APLA and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] members in Transkei.

[White] So, what are you denying? You are denying that they are training there or have any bases there?

[Holomisa] Firstly, we are rejecting—not a question of denying—we are rejecting that the Transkei government has any agreement or arrangement of training bases managed by any liberation movement in this country. So, there are no training bases we know of. If there is anyone who has information to that effect, he is welcome to come and show us.

[White] Now, if you came across APLA people carrying guns and organizing themselves in Transkei, what would you do?

[Holomisa] Firstly, the unbanning of the organizations and their military wings, the conditions were clear that we are not going to disarm them. That is the arrangement also which has been arranged by De Klerk and the liberation movements. In the case of Transkei, if we were to see the APLA members, let us say training somewhere, obviously we would aim to disarm them and take the matter up with the leaders of their liberation movement or political organization, because we have no arrangement of the training facilities. But, if we see an individual or we come across an individual in his house, having his own weapon and we check with his leadership here in Transkei and in South Africa and it has been proved that he is a member of the APLA, we are not going to disarm that particular individual.

[White] So, Holomisa, not far from you, there have been a number of incidents in which whites have been killed in bomb attacks. What do you feel about those attacks? Do you condemn them or not condemn them?

[Holomisa] The Transkei government believes and it is on record as having said that we promote peace. We don't believe that the solutions of southern Africa could be solved through violent means. So, the incidents which took place in Queenstown and King Williams' Town also need to be condemned by whoever.

APLA Commander Denies Bases in Transkei

MB1012183392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1742 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Umtata Dec 10 SAPA—The Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] has several bases in South Africa, particularly in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area, an APLA commander, Vuma Ntकिनca, said on Thursday. He was replying to questions on a programme broadcast on Radio Transkei, in the wake of South African allegations that the Pan Africanist Congress' [PAC] armed wing had bases in the homeland.

Mr. Ntकिनca said attacks launched by APLA on the Reef, including the deaths of a number of policemen, proved the army had bases in the PWV area.

The commander denied APLA members were being trained in the Transkei, saying: "All our members have been trained both outside South Africa and Transkei". Mr. Ntकिनca said it would be naive for APLA to send fully-armed cadres across the border from the Transkei into South Africa, as the homeland had been marooned by heavily-armed South African security forces. With the large number of cadres in South Africa, there was no need to export reinforcements there.

Asked why APLA was hitting soft targets, Mr. Ntकिनca said that generally white families had a large quantity of arms in

their homes, and it was therefore difficult to differentiate between hard and soft targets. He also warned that should South Africa's security forces retaliate following recent attacks launched by APLA, his organisation would react with all the might at its disposal.

Mr. Ntकिनca said the PAC had no programme to talk to the South African Government: "Ours is to continue the armed struggle".

ANC Criticizes Statement on Cross Border Pursuit

MB1012212392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2055 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 10 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] criticised Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel for saying on Thursday [10 December] that South Africa would consider cross-border raids in pursuit of Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] cadres.

"The belligerent statements made by Minister Kriel and others can only be seen as a serious threat to the democratisation process, serving to whip up white fears in support of narrow party political interests," the ANC said in a statement.

Mr Kriel said at a news conference earlier on Thursday the government would consider raids into Zimbabwe and the Transkei in the wake of attacks on whites at King William's Town and Queenstown.

APLA, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, claimed responsibility for the attack at King William's Town in which four whites died.

The ANC said the threat of incursion "is totally unacceptable. The ANC takes this as a *causa belli*. It is irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme".

It said an attack against Zimbabwe would destabilise the entire southern African region, including the peace process in Mozambique.

It would also exacerbate the tense situation in Angola.

"Mr Kriel's threats raise disturbing questions about the overflights and buzzing of the Thornhill Base in Zimbabwe that have taken place from South African territory in recent weeks," the ANC said referring to recent allegations by Zimbabwe its airspace was being violated.

The statement added that ANC President Nelson Mandela would raise these matters at the special emergency meeting of the Frontline States in Harare on Friday.

Zambian Minister Condemns APLA Actions

MB1012175392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1718
GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Pretoria Dec 10 SAPA—Actions and statements by the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] are unacceptable and seriously jeopardise the peace process in South Africa, Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said in Pretoria on Thursday [10 December].

He said his government remained faithful to the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, which was subsequently adopted by both the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations General Assembly, which stated that "we prefer to negotiate rather than fight".

APLA, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC], declared war on white South Africans at the weekend. This followed last week's two attacks, apparently by APLA, in King William's Town and Queenstown which left five people dead and 34 injured.

PAC leadership have refused both to accept responsibility for and condemn its military wing's actions and statements.

Referring to violence in general, Mr. Mwaanga welcomed Wednesday's meeting between high-level African National Congress [ANC] and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] delegations.

"We consider it imperative that a meeting be held in the very near future between ANC President Nelson Mandela and IFP leader (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi. It is important for the followers of ANC and IFP to see their leaders talking and shaking hands."

Mr. Mwaanga met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on Thursday to discuss violence in South Africa, foreign affairs spokesman Awie Marais confirmed.

De Klerk, Homeland Leaders Meet 10 Dec

MB1012170292 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1529
GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Pretoria Dec 10 SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk and the leaders of Bophuthatswana, kwaZulu and the Ciskei on Thursday [10 December] agreed on the necessity of moving towards inclusive multiparty negotiations as soon as possible.

A two-day follow-up meeting between the government and the homeland delegations is planned for January 8 and 9 next year. Other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie [Afrikaner National Party], may attend this meeting.

All four delegation heads—Mr. de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and Ciskeian military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo—looked optimistic at a brief photocall in Pretoria after Thursday's meeting.

Mr. de Klerk said they had "succeeded in clearing up a lot of misunderstandings".

He said the January 8 and 9 meeting, at an as yet undetermined venue, would not be at leadership level.

High-level working groups would address differences on the negotiation process, and discuss the government/African National Congress Record of Understanding, which had only been discussed "generally" on Thursday.

He said all the leaders concurred that a solution for South Africa lay in multiparty negotiations to result in an accord on which a new dispensation could be built.

"One of the most crucial aspects which in the coming weeks and hopefully before the end of January must be resolved is to bring about a broad consensus as to how that multiparty conference must exactly be called and constituted," said Mr. de Klerk.

"We must build bridges between the conflicting views in that regard and the government accepts the task it has to play in building those bridges."

He added, "it is clear that there is a broad basis of agreement with regard to principles affecting strong regional government entrenchment in a constitution, meaningful powers, and the like".

The parties discussed agreements and differences on federalism, regionalism and confederalism—which Mr. Mangope favours. These issues as well as ways and means of moving to more representative multiparty discussions should be pursued further in bilateral and multilateral negotiations, a joint statement issued by the four delegations said.

It was also agreed that the parties involved should maintain open channels of communication on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

Mr. Buthelezi said there was no alternative to multiparty negotiations, and he hoped that the negotiations process would move forward next year because time was of the essence.

Mr. Mangope said he left the meeting with the strong hope that the follow-up meeting would be useful for the constitutional debate in which Bophuthatswana would be engaged.

Brig Gqozo said there was a need and urgency to resume a multiparty conference.

Buthelezi Stands Firm Against Interim Government*MB1012182292 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1734 GMT 10 Dec 92*

[By Norman Patterson]

[Text] Pretoria Dec 10 SAPA—After three months of acrimony, Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi met State President F.W. de Klerk with apparently positive results on Thursday [10 December].

Mr. de Klerk told journalists at the Union Buildings after his meeting with disaffected homeland leaders Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo to take a cue about the atmosphere between them from the fact that they were all smiles.

They appeared together at a photocall after the marathon meeting to tout the importance of multiparty talks resuming as a matter of urgency.

Mr. Buthelezi expressed himself in favour of multiparty negotiations but added: "We do realise we should not give a wrong impression as if things can just move as if there are no obstacles. We stated that there was agreement, but also differences".

Mr. de Klerk is about to go on leave, and his year is therefore drawing to close on an unexpectedly optimistic note, in that he had apparently won back the three recalcitrant concerned South Africans group leaders to the negotiation process.

All that remains for him now is to record his Christmas message and to keep an eye on the situation with the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC].

Mr. Buthelezi had drawn up a memorandum of almost 500 words before the meeting for presentation to Mr. de Klerk, in which he accused Mr. de Klerk of having "erred" in analysing the political situation and of acting in an un-South African way.

According to a copy of the memo, the IFP firmly and categorically rejected the notions of an interim government, a transitional constitution and a constituent assembly.

Said Mr. Buthelezi: "I strongly believe that a constituent assembly will be elected in a climate of escalating violence and intimidation, and once established and empowered by universal and popular suffrage the constituent assembly will do what is natural for any of these elective bodies to do".

The IFP was firmly committed to the construction of a genuine federal solution for South Africa where the residual powers of the member states were fully recognised and only a limited and listed number of powers are granted to the federal republic of South Africa.

He warned that the African National Congress [ANC] was bent on becoming the only real power in the unitary state.

In dealing with the ANC with its private army, Mr. de Klerk was "doing something which is utterly un-South African", according to the kwaZulu chief minister.

Mr. Buthelezi said the multiparty negotiations, which should follow the IFP's proposed national multiparty conference of review, should prepare a set of binding constitutional principles and objectives to be handed down to a group of experts to be implemented in the most suitable fashion.

"Once approved by the political representatives present in the new negotiating forum, the draft constitution prepared by the experts shall be submitted to popular referendum for ratification and approval."

Televised Mandela Interview on Issues*MB1012192292 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 10 Dec 92*

[Interview with African National Congress President Nelson Mandela by Richard Steyn, editor of THE STAR, and Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of THE INDICATOR, and chaired by SABC political correspondent Lester Venter; on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Venter] Mr. Mandela, good evening, and welcome. Gentlemen, good evening. Gentlemen, we're at the end of a year that has seen only limited progress in South Africa's transition, but we're at the beginning of a new year that seems to offer better prospects. Let's look at those issues. Mr. Steyn, would you like to start the discussion?

[Steyn] Mr. Mandela, looking towards next year, mass action this year has had a significant impact on the course of events. For the ANC [African National Congress] it's been a successful tactic, but for many others, and including the business and investment communities, it has been just the opposite. Now, next year the ANC is going to be a co-partner, we understand, in an interim government. Can we expect mass action to be used when the ANC's coalition partners do something of which it disapproves, or has mass action now served its purpose?

[Mandela] The methods of political action used by an organization are determined by the oppressor himself. Where the oppressor creates sufficient platforms for political expression, and is prepared to discuss matters with the oppressed, there is no necessity for any form of mass action. But if the oppressor closes all channels of peaceful communication, then you must expect mass action. We have embarked on mass action not because this is our preference, but because it is at certain times the only method open to us in order to focus attention on the denial of our aspirations. I sincerely hope that the progress that we have made in negotiations will make it unnecessary for us to embark on any form of mass

action. But for that, we need the cooperation of everybody who can influence the development of events in South Africa.

[Steyn] So you don't rule it out altogether next year?

[Mandela] We cannot rule it out until the political system in this country has been fully democratized, but I sincerely hope that it will not be necessary for us to do so, because we are well aware of the damage which mass action can cause to our economy. We have no less than 40 percent of our population unemployed. That is an indictment of our society, and all the leaders in this country, and anything which is likely to worsen the state of our economy must be avoided. But whether we are going to do so is going to depend not just on ourselves, but on the progress of negotiations. If there is good progress, there will be no necessity for mass action.

[Venter] Mr. Akhalwaya, any point you want to take up, on mass action, or any other?

[Akhalwaya] Yes. Mr. Mandela, on the question of negotiations and mass action, I think there is a lot of cynicism, skepticism, on the ground about whether negotiations are really heading anywhere, whether we are not in for another cycle of stalemate, another cycle of mass action. Are there any really positive signs that we should look forward to in the next few weeks and in coming months, or are there any of the pitfalls that our organizations have found over the past year, that can be avoided to get us further in the process?

[Mandela] It would be unreasonable for any person to expect that negotiations will proceed smoothly, without hiccups. One must remember the background and the conditions under which negotiations are taking place in this country. We have a government which is the product of an apartheid society, and which thinks, in terms of the transformation, in terms of the conditions that produced them. We have a liberation movement which has been produced by a heritage of resistance, which tends to oppose anything which comes from the government.

We have to learn, both the government and the liberation movement, have to learn to crawl out of their respective backgrounds, and if one considers that background, negotiations have made very good progress. Through negotiations the ANC and other political organizations have been unbanned. The state of emergency, which had lasted for three years, has been lifted. Political prisoners, or the majority of political prisoners, have been released. Political exiles are returning to the country. The repressive legislation has either been amended or totally repealed. There is an atmosphere now, a climate, of free political activity. All these are the result of negotiations.

On 26 September this year, we had a successful summit which agreed on the release of the remaining political prisoners, on the banning of the public display of dangerous weapons, and on the fencing off of hostels which had become barracks for death squads. Last week we

completed a three-day bilateral (?meeting) between the ANC and the government. There has been progress, and in spite of the difficulties to which I have referred, good progress has been made, and I think that we have reason to look at 1993 with hope.

[Steyn] Mr. Mandela, federalism and regionalism are emerging as the key issues in the forging of a new constitution. Can you tell us, without asking you to go into great detail, whether the ANC and the government have come closer together on these issues in recent weeks and are you confident that whatever differences still exist can be resolved?

[Mandela] I am confident that differences over that issue will in due course be resolved. There is a tendency to concentrate on the labels rather than the content. The ANC is not against devolution of power to the regions and to local structures. The dispute here has, firstly, been between ourselves and the government. The government insisted that the boundaries, the powers and functions of the regions should be determined now by Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], which is a self-appointed body with no popular base. We are saying that this is a matter which should be left to the constituent assembly and we cannot accept that a self-appointed body should take decisions which will bind an elected body.

[Steyn] So we're talking process, not principle?

[Venter] It seems that Mr. Mandela is placing a question mark behind Codesa as we have known it to now. Mr. Akhalwaya, would you like to explore the implication of that?

[Akhalwaya] Yes, Mr. Mandela, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] for one, has denounced Codesa. There are all sorts of difficulties emerging in terms of the type of negotiations structure or the type of Codesa process, that should replace or... [changes thought] to replace the previous Codesa forums that we had. Are we now looking at something different or are we involved in semantics about the type of negotiating structure that should come alive again?

[Mandela] In the recent bilateral between the ANC and the government we have agreed that Codesa must be retained, in a restructured form, in the sense that all political parties which want to join Codesa and raise their demands... [changes thought] to make their demands, are perfectly entitled to do so. We also are prepared for the simplification of the procedure in Codesa but it is unthinkable that after two years we should now... [changes thought] after having struggled for two years to set up a forum, we should now change it and think of a new forum just because an organization isolated itself and did not want to join Codesa when that forum was established. We find that unacceptable and I don't think it is going to happen.

[Steyn] Could I press you on that? If the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], the PAC and others finally reject a

return to Codesa, will you and the government press ahead to an interim government without bringing the others with you? Are you determined to go that route?

[Mandela] I cannot speak for the government, but I can speak very clearly and state the position of the ANC. We think that the peace forces in this country are far too strong to be derailed by any other political organization or force in this country. It really depends on whether Mr. de Klerk is prepared to join us and be decisive in moving forward swiftly to a democratic South Africa. If Mr. de Klerk is prepared, as we are, to cross the democratic threshold, no power in this country can stop us from bringing about a new South Africa. I sincerely hope that all organizations will abandon their confrontational approach because whatever complaint they have about this forum, they are entitled to come and present their views. Any unilateral action by any other political organization is not in the interest of the people of South Africa and this country. We can't afford to delay because our economy is in such a state that further delay will turn this country into a wasteland and we can't afford that, to be quibbling as to whether this particular forum is adequate or not. People can come inside of Codesa and make suggestions as to how it should improve. We have an open mind as far as that is concerned.

[Venter] That's a very positive note, but Mr. Mandela did say earlier, Mr. Akhalwaya, that he expected nevertheless that Codesa would see many hiccups and stumbling blocks. Should we explore some of those?

[Akhalwaya] Yes, every time you have bilateral talks and sometimes multilateral talks, a record of understanding, for example, emerges between yourself and Mr. de Klerk which is immediately shot down by those who are not involved. Would one process be, in terms of the party political fights, the point scoring exercises, the electioneering that's taking place, obviously between various organizations, could a case be made out, as our newspaper suggested some time ago, to take an option where all our leaders, the leaders of each political organization, goes into a bosberaad [bush summit] type of situation, to try and find one another? I say that because the country is looking for some signs of hope. If you and Mr. de Klerk, for example, can come to some sort of understanding, surely this can be widened to include all other political leaders. That type of option can be more satisfactory now to clear the way rather than going for a Codesa-type conference again?

[Mandela] We are not against a conference, a multiparty conference, including all political leaders across the political spectrum. In fact, the ANC has been up front in this regard. It is unique, because we have taken an initiative and seen almost every political leader in this country, without exception. There is not a single political leader we have not tried to see, and we are doing so because we believe that the collective wisdom of all leaders, not just two or three leaders, the collective leadership, the collective wisdom of all leaders, is absolutely essential in order to address the problems of this country effectively. You must also

remember that it was Mr. de Klerk who suggested the idea of a troika, that only three political organizations in this country should set an agenda for the rest of the leadership. The ANC firmly rejected that, and said, we want all political parties in the country to be involved. So we are in favor of multiparty talks, but we can't force anybody who wants a confrontational approach, and who does not want to join multiparty talks.

[Venter] The improved political prospects for negotiations have brought us to the tragedy of violence in our country, and the dangers that that poses for those improved prospects for negotiations. Mr. Steyn?

[Steyn] Mr. Mandela, you have been critical of Mr. de Klerk for not taking effective action to clean up the security services, yet the ANC stands accused by Amnesty International of harboring torturers in its ranks. Can you give the country an assurance tonight that you will not allow these people to play any part in a future government of this country?

[Mandela] What I would like to tell you is that the ANC has been unique in having the courage and the honesty to take the South African public and the international community in confidence about the violation of human rights within its own ranks. We put up a commission to investigate these allegations. No less than five senior members of the ANC appeared before the commission and admitted that there were serious violations of human rights.

The commission, after investigation, made its findings, and also confirmed that there were violations of human rights. They then recommended that there should be a further independent and impartial structure which should be set up, in order to give opportunity to those who have been alleged to have committed these violations, to state their case, and also to investigate the case of those people who have died, allegedly, in the hands of the ANC.

We published that report, and accepted full responsibility for those violations. We have now set up that independent and impartial structure, which was recommended by the commission, and we have selected the most highly respected and independent commissioners—Dr. Sam Motsuenyane, who is the chairman of the African Bank, director of several companies in the country; Advocate David Zamshiya of Zimbabwe, who has been a senator in that country, the permanent secretary of the Department of Justice, and who is now in private practise; and then Dr. Margaret Burnham, a former judge in the United States of America, a Fellow of the University of Harvard, and the chairperson of the Black Lawyers' Association of the United States of America. We have appointed this commission to go into this question, and their findings will again be published, and if any of our people are involved, we will say so quite openly. But it is premature for us to take action against any particular individual, precisely because they have not been given the opportunity to state their own case.

[Venter, interrupting] Mr. Mandela, do you...

[Mandela, interrupting] You must remember that one of the people alleged is Comrade Andrew Mlangeni, who was in prison during the time when these violations were

committed, allegedly committed, and therefore it is necessary for us to investigate the matter thoroughly before we can take action against anybody.

[Venter] Forgive me, that point taken, the point, nevertheless, of Mr. Steyn's question is: When guilty individuals are identified, what will be your attitude to their serving, or not, in a future government?

[Mandela] We can't prejudge the issue. There will be time enough for us to tell the public. We have been up front and we will not sweep anything under the carpet. We'll come out and if we have to take action, that action will be taken and announced to the public. If we don't, we will also announce to the public and then you can express an opinion.

[Venter] Mr. Steyn, are you satisfied with the answer?

[Steyn] For the moment yes.

[Venter] Mr. Akhalwaya?

[Akhalwaya] Mr. Mandela, if I may just follow up on that issue. I know you said that you don't want to prejudge the issue against any individuals, but most of these crimes that the commission has found, or the commissions have found... [changes thought] Amnesty International has been committed outside the country; now it will be one thing to say that guilty parties would not be allowed to continue to serve in the ANC, but what legal action can be taken against them? Is there a case for those people to be returned to the countries where those crimes were committed where they could stand trial?

[Mandela] Well, I would urge you that we should not prejudge the issue. Whether action is going to be taken or not, must depend on the findings of the commission. I don't think it is proper for us to prejudge the issue, but what we have done up to now should lend a great deal of credibility to the African National Congress, because we have taken the public into confidence about the findings of the commission and this is the spirit in which we are going to handle this matter.

[Venter] Gentlemen, I'd like you to take up the issue of violence between political parties inside the country.

[Akhalwaya] Yes, the intercommunal violence, I think whether we call it black on black violence or not, the point is that the violence has reached an unacceptable level and there seems to be no end to it. I think despite the National Peace Committee, the Goldstone Commission, all of it, what can we really look forward to? Is there a way in which organizations can come together to tackle the question of communal violence or are we waiting now for a transitional government to take care of it?

[Mandela] Judge Goldstone, who has been appointed to investigate political violence in this country, has given between six and seven causes of this violence and it is a mistake to limit it to rivalry between political organizations. And then there have been three commissions which have come to the country and investigated, the

International Commission of Jurists, the Organization of African Unity and International... [changes thought] Amnesty International, I'm sorry. They have given reasons as to this violence and I don't think, if you consider the accumulated effect of this violence, it is proper to limit the matter purely to rivalry between so-called black political organizations. The matter is too complicated. You're quite right, the only way in which we can effectively address this violence is through the installation of an elected interim government of national unity. Without that it is going to be extremely difficult because the political organizations themselves are involved. The state security services are involved and until there is a democratic structure which has the capacity to bring all these various organizations under control, it is not going to be possible for us to address the question of violence but we will do what we can to talk to other political organizations, to talk with the government to try and put pressure for all of us to address this question and I'm saying so, not in a spirit of blaming, of finger pointing, of blaming anybody. The government, the ANC and other organizations are involved in one way or another in this violence and, therefore, it's a question where we should put our shoulders to the wheel and address this question collectively.

[Venter] Mr. Mandela, thank you very much for joining us tonight on Agenda, gentlemen, colleagues of the press. So as South Africa approaches yet another turning point in its history, those are the views of the leader of the ANC.

PAC, DP Pledge To Work Toward Ending Violence

*MB1012115392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1133
GMT 10 Dec 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 10 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and the Democratic Party [DP] on Thursday [10 December] pledged to work towards achieving the end of violence, but warned that the current strife could not be divorced from a political settlement. "Both (parties) recognise the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens, has on the creation of such a climate," said a joint statement issued at the end of the talks in Johannesburg.

PAC President Clarence Makwetu read the statement. Saying the PAC reiterated its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities, Mr. Makwetu said it was also necessary that a multi-lateral forum be convened to decide on the modalities for electing a constituent assembly. "Both view the convening of a multi-lateral forum to decide on the modalities for electing a representative body which will draw up a new democratic constitution an important step both in resolving the issue of violence and achieving a political settlement," said the statement.

However, both parties did not share the same view on the recent attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown. "(But) in a more general discussion on the urgent need to bring violence to an end, we did find considerable common ground."

Pressed on the question of the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] complicity in the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, Mr Makwetu retorted that his organisation would not subject itself to trial by the media. "The PAC is on record as saying we are committed to the cessation of hostilities. Any day the regime is prepared to talk us, we are ready," he said.

Buthelezi Memorandum for De Klerk

*MB1012194392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1858
GMT 10 Dec 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: Office of the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] Memorandum for presentation to H.E. Mr F W de Klerk

state president of the Republic of South Africa

by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu and

president of the Inkatha Freedom Party

Pretoria : December 10, 1992

Mr President, there is a ripeness of time in which we meet together today. It will, we hope, be in part a meeting of men who have dealt with each other before and who have an awareness of each other as men of consequence who have each their own role to play in the unfolding drama of bringing a new South Africa into being.

When we met before we have always touched on the issue of trust and have emphasised the need to walk forward in the sureness of knowing who we each are and what must be done. In a strange way that sense of trust was there from the very beginning of your grasping the National Party and South Africa in your hands. That trust was there as you replace Mr P W Botha as head of state. It was there before you made your now famous February 2 1990 speech to Parliament. There was something there very different even in the dignified and simple ceremony of inducting you into office as state president.

Let us talk against the background of that original trust. But, Mr President, let us not talk as though all we need is that trust. I believe Mr President that you have erred. We believe that your analysis of the South African situation is either lacking in important understandings or you are chartering a wrong course through a constitution obstacle race against time to do the best you can in the face of everything that is descending upon you.

Mr President, let us start off by saying this. Only a very sound constitution will see this country through the decades that are to come. I come to you with absolute clarity in my mind that we need consensus government in this country. We need to give constitutional expression to the plurality of the South African society. We need a smaller government with substantial residual powers left at state level, and we need severely limited and very carefully chosen powers at the national level of government.

We need a solution somewhere along the continuum right way from a unitary state point which runs through federal arrangements, confederal arrangements, commonwealth of states arrangements, to the dangerous end of that continuum—a broken up South Africa.

The ANC [African National Congress] wants a unitary state and whatever is says, either in negotiations or in public, the ANC is bent upon becoming the only real power in the unitary state. Then there shall be bloodshed, and then there shall be the destruction of the very generating base of the South African economy. And then there will be generations of suffering in the anguish of knowing that you, Mr President, did not hear people like us when we talked to you as we talk to you today.

We are all seasoned leaders who have either come out of apartheid or the struggle against apartheid. We have talked to each other thus. We can say what the facts of the matter are. We can say to you that our perception of the theory of state is that the people are sovereign, and once a people give power to a political party like the ANC, it will use the sovereignty of government, as it alone sees fit. There will be no sharing in the making of policy decisions in the new South Africa if the ANC ends up as a government in a unitary state.

Our understanding of the theory of state tells us most clearly of all that no sovereign government is bound by its own past decisions. It is even less bound by decisions which were taken in negotiations before it came to power. There is something awesome about political power and Lord Acton's saying that power tends to corrupt and absolute power absolutely, summarises great wisdom. That is not the way of communism and that is not the way of the ANC.

All three of us, Mr President, who have come to you with our delegations, pledge our total support for the struggle for democracy, but our support will always carry with it the imperative of multi-partyism.

I would like to observe, Mr President, that the objections I am laying before you about what you are doing will go a lot deeper than party political statements or concerns about strategic issues. I state, Mr President, that from our point of view there is something very, very wrong with you becoming the only common denominator in wide ranging sets of bilateral negotiations between parties.

If you Mr President, have to lead this country into a negotiated future, you will have to call a multi-party conference now, or in the immediate future, lay before such a conference all the agreements ever made between you and the ANC, and all the understandings ever reached, before such a conference for scrutiny, acceptance or rejection.

We will not run behind you and Dr Mandela in procedures in which you meet with the ANC in private, announce decisions which are fundamentally important to the whole negotiation process to the future of the country, and justify what you are doing by saying that the decisions reached will be subjected to multi-party endorsement.

That is what Dr Mandela said would happen when he spoke in the agenda program the day after he signed the Record of Understanding with you. It is what Mr Ramaphosa is saying after your latest bosberaad [bush summit] with the ANC.

We came together as three leaders after you signed the Record of Understanding with Dr Mandela, saying enough is enough. We ask that you today recognise who we are, and recognise that we represent a very substantial body of political opinion in this country, and we lead very substantial political forces. We ask you to recognise that we are speaking with gravity today because we can see clearly our people's responses to what you and the ANC are doing.

You are dealing, Mr President, with Dr Mandela who is the commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing]. You are dealing with the ANC which has a private army which continues to recruit additional members for training in foreign countries. You are doing something which is utterly un-South African.

Not one of us here, nor anyone in the leadership of our parties and governments, doubt for one moment, that it is imperative that the ANC form an integral part of the negotiation process. Without the ANC there will be no secure future. We say with equal weight that without the government and the National Party remaining an integral part of the negotiations there will be no secure future.

We say with equal gravity that the ANC and the South African Government can not secure the future alone, and that the best that they could do will be destroyed if you, Mr President, continue with a course of action which leads you to again deal secretly with the ANC before Parliament sits in January, open parliament and then expect to put everything right in a multi-party conference in February.

I have called for an urgent national multi-party conference of review. I wanted that conference this month in December, even before you had another bosberaad with the ANC.

We have said to you individually and now jointly that we can not return to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic

South Africa]. The ANC destroyed Codesa when it walked out of it in May leaving it without a quorum. You buried Codesa, Mr President, when you followed a policy of appeasement with the ANC, and you put a tombstone on the grave of Codesa when you signed the Record of Understanding with Dr Mandela.

We are not like the ANC which produces impossible ultimatums in attempts to establish itself ahead of other parties with the background threat that it really will disrupt and destroy the negotiation process if it does not get its own way.

We say to you Mr President, that what you and the ANC have done has changed the political landscape. We have drawn a line through politics and we have said enough is enough and no more. We have said that with measured tones, and we have added that we ask only the reasonable thing we can ask of you and the ANC—lay before a multi-party conference everything that you have decided together from the D.F. Malan and the Pretoria Minute onwards.

We say put all the parties together in one conference. Let us together take stock of where we are, and together let us decide how to move forward.

We say to you Mr President that we really do reject the decision you and Dr Mandela reached to establish and elected constituent assembly which will become the constitution making body of the country. We reject this for sound reasons which were tabled at Codesa that any ruling party in a unitary state type government will certainly end up forcing a unitary state constitution on us. There are cogent argument supporting our view.

A constitution serves to curb the excesses of any government. Therefore a constitution must be agreed to be all at a multi-party conference, passed by parliament, and then an election called on a universal adult suffrage basis for a new government. This is the normal, internationally accepted method.

We also reject the suggestion of an elected constituent assembly after a high centralised negotiation process sets the rules of the game and the objectives of such an election. We believe that the plurality of South Africa demands a bottom up negotiation process.

In this regard I am astounded at your response to, and your rejection of the right of the people of regions to decide for themselves what kind of regional state government and political process they would like to formulate for inclusion in the national constitutional debate.

We would like to say Mr President, that we see you making the assumption, wittingly, unwittingly, or in default, that there is one mainstream central negotiation process which has remained intact since the beginning of Codesa.

What ever has happened at Codesa, and however you had led the country since Codesa, Mr President there was a deep South Africanism at work generating political forces for change. The forces which we began to gather together in Codesa, and the forces which Codesa could not gather together, have been at work generating processes which just can not be ignored. They have produced amongst others. Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group], and the constitution of the state of kwaZulu/Natal. They have produced powerful factors in the western and northern Transvaal.

It will be utterly unwise of you, Mr President, to make the assumption that you and the ANC can steamroller your way through these forces. They have in them deep and constructive powers which you should use for democracy, Mr President.

I now formulate my thinking Mr President, in a second section of my presentation to you, which I hope can stand on its own as depersonalised political thinking. I do so to enable you to share this second section with whomsoever you see fit to share it. My statement for the record

There must be agreement in the recognition that Codesa was not an adequate forum to guide the process of transformation of our society. The work at Codesa can be preserved only as a reference point and a pool of options which now need to be drawn into a truly representative forum of multi-party negotiations. The future negotiation forum must be all inclusive so that all parties can have an input. In fact, had the parties excluded from Codesa been given the opportunity to provide their input, any agreement ostensibly reached at Codesa would have been different. It must also be recognized that Codesa had many flaws in so far as the procedures and the negotiating process were structured.

All agreements reached thus far, whether bilateral or multi-lateral, should be considered as contributions to the new process but shall have no binding force nor special status vis a vis alternative options and new ideas. The acceptance of any of these agreements shall not be made a condition by any party for the resumption of multi-party negotiations. After all Codesa was not an all-inclusive forum of negotiations. If we were to be bound by what was agreed to at Codesa, what about those parties, organisations and nations like the Zulu nation, that were not represented at Codesa? What right have we to foist all the decisions made at Codesa on them?

It is imperative to reach an agreement for the need to build institutions of democracy and pluralism from the ground up without waiting for an overall top down solution. These agreements shall include the adoption of the constitution of the state of kwaZulu/Natal and the establishment of statehood of other regions of our country, provided that such processes are democratic and meet the needs, wants, and aspirations of the people they are aimed at.

Before determining the structure, purposes and operational modalities of the new negotiating forum there must be a moment of reflection and analysis to determine the limitations of the negotiating techniques followed thus far, and the parameters to be followed in the future. This will ensure that no single party can disrupt negotiations and the process of negotiations can move with its own strength and momentum. In this regard we have called for a national multi-party conference of review which shall have the exclusive purpose of determining how future negotiations should be conducted and propose a structure which will have sufficient strength to ensure that all parties to the process work together to produce the new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

There must be a preliminary stage where all parties agree on what type of constitutional dispensation is to be written. In this regard, the input of negotiations at regional level is vital. I take the position that it is unreasonable to discuss and negotiate who should write the new constitution and how the constitution should be drafted until there is an agreement on what type of constitution is to be drafted. This means that the issue related to the form of governmental structures in the future South Africa must be resolved as a preliminary matter. This is necessary in light of the fact that if a federal constitution is to be produced it might be advisable that such constitution be written by individuals representing the member states. Moreover, if the parties engaged in negotiations are seriously committed to producing a pluralistic constitution, whoever is charged with this task should be selected on the basis of the representation of existing social, cultural and economic formations.

We in the IFP are firmly committed to the construction of a genuine federal solution for South Africa where the residual powers of the member states are fully recognised and only a limited and listed number of powers are granted to the federal republic of South Africa.

Mr President, I know that my colleagues President Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo would at this stage not commit themselves to a federal future for South Africa as the IFP and kwaZulu would. The unfolding of the South African constitutional drama will in due course show who will choose what option when it comes to the form of state we should opt for. I therefore do not wish to speak for my colleagues in this matter. They must speak for themselves. All I am doing is indicating my particular option on a continuum in which kwaZulu and the IFP have moved away from a unitary state in agreement with President Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo. We all agree that a unitary state would be disastrous for the country.

We are firmly committed to the creation of a future constitution which will accommodate our pluralistic society in South Africa. For this purpose the new constitutional dispensation of South Africa shall contain very detailed limits to the role of government, and shall

respect the integrity of civil society. The future constitution of South Africa must guarantee social justice and remove all vestiges of social as well as legal apartheid. Hence, the future constitution must promote equal and effective access to all economic, social and political opportunities.

Any agreement emanating from multi-party negotiations shall not limit bottom up democracy-building and negotiations at regional level aimed at finalising the creation of new states. The central negotiation process shall respect the modalities and the time frames necessary for the finalisation of viable processes of regional democracy building.

Furthermore, we are fully in agreement that the priority must remain to ensure that the process of transformation in our society must be successful and realistic, and should not be bound by preconceived time frames. We do, however, acknowledge that there must be a commitment to intensifying negotiations and the work of co-ordination and implementation. I believe that the process of transformation can be significantly accelerated if effective structures are established which impel all parties to work together on an ongoing daily basis, precluding bilateralism and exclusive agreements which will be subject to re-negotiation. We are firmly committed to the acceleration of the process of transformation of our society and will work as hard and as intensely as possible for this purpose.

I hereby table, for future consideration by all the parties of the multi-lateral process of negotiation, a set of agreed to constitutional principles which we will use in the bottom up process of democracy and pluralism building, which we will be engaged in, the immediate future. I hereby request the South African Government to facilitate and assist democracy building at regional level, including but not limiting the organisation of referenda to allow the people to express their sovereignty and use their inherent right to choose and give unto themselves institutions of government to serve and administer their interests, wants and aspirations. I submit that these recommendations are perfectly compatible with the present status of transition.

I hereby propose that the new constitutional dispensation for South Africa be negotiated and drafted of the Bretton Woods Agreement which set in place the international monetary system. The Bretton Woods Agreement was an agreement that no politician would have had the political strength to put together, as it required major limitations of national sovereignty in areas which were perceived to be of very sensitive importance by all the countries involved.

It can be remembered how on that occasion a group of technocrats were sent to study the matter in a secluded resort at Bretton Woods. These experts came back with a fully drafted agreement, on which they had reached full consensus. They submitted this agreement for the approval of the politicians. Once the agreement was on the table, no politician was willing to pay the high

political cost associated with the rejection of the agreement, and the agreement was approved and ratified.

The IFP believes that South Africa today is in a similar situation. To us nobody seems to have the political courage to put on the table a proposal to solve South African's problems. Again, Mr President, I can not speak for my colleagues on this particular matter. They would perhaps see it as one option and we would perhaps see it very much more as a preferred option than they would at this time. They must speak for themselves Mr President. But again whatever their choice finally emerges to be, I believe that we will stand together in our rejection of an elected constituent assembly becoming the constitution making body of the country. At Codesa it was impossible to undertake any serious constitutional negotiations, as all the parties involved were more concerned about making statements for the ever-present media of mass communication, than to discuss matters of substance.

I strongly believe that if a proposal were tabled by a credible group of experts, appointed by each of the political parties, and specially mandated to come up with a draft constitutional proposal, it would be very hard for all parties involved to reject it.

The multi-party negotiations which will follow the national multi-party conference of review should prepare a set of binding constitutional principles and objectives to be handed down to the group of experts to be implemented in the most suitable fashion. Once approved by the political representatives present in the new negotiating forum, the draft constitution prepared by the experts shall be submitted to popular referendum for ratification and approval.

Consequently, we firmly and categorically reject the notions of an interim government, a transitional constitution and a constituent assembly. A transitional constitution and an interim government are necessary and justified only in as far as they provide a constitutional frame of reference to the work of a constituent assembly. I strongly believe that a constituent assembly will be elected in a climate of escalating violence and intimidation, and once established and empowered by universal and popular suffrage the constituent assembly will do what is natural for any of these elective bodies to do.

In spite of any previous political agreement, the constituent assembly will claim no restriction and no mandates and will vest unto itself the greatest amount of powers possible. The claim for power is going to be twofold. It will claim powers for itself and for its creations. It will ensure that the central state structure will be entrusted with the greatest amount of powers possible. Only the existence of some already established members states, vested with already established powers, can prevent the constituent assembly from creating a central government empowered with all the fundamental powers of government.

It has been pointed out on many occasions that it is not possible to draft an electoral law to elect the constituent assembly before having resolved the issue of the form of state. If we want to have a federal system, the constituent assembly, like the Philadelphia constitutional convention which drafted the United States constitution, must primarily represent the states. Electing a constituent assembly before having decided the form of government is like putting the cart before the horses. A constituent assembly elected on the basis of an electoral law inspired by a nationwide proportional system can not produce a federal system.

I put forward the following list of constitutional principles as vital for the formation of a new democratic South Africa. Each state should adopt a constitution embodying the principles set forth herein:

"Rigidity" of the constitution and its supremacy over any other source of law. The exercise of the powers of the federal government in the states must be consistent with the state's constitution. Special procedures shall be set forth to amend the constitution.

There must be federalism, with residual powers in the members states. The powers of the state should be exercised as close as possible to the recipients of its services, either through internal decentralisation or through the creation of autonomous regions. The principle of democratic participation in administrative and legislative activities should be implemented throughout the constitutional system.

There must be a full list of internationally recognised human rights, including personal, collective, social, economic, labour, family and political rights. Fundamental rights shall be entrenched and not amendable. People should be respected and protected both as individuals and as members of the social and cultural formations they belong to and with which they identify.

There must be an adoption of the lists of modern collective rights, such as the right of the media, the right to access information, the right to a clean environment, consumer protection, et cetera.

There must be a mandate to the government to remove social apartheid by developing equal access to all social, economic and political opportunities for all citizens irrespective of race, sex, colour or creed. It is the duty of the state to assist the needy and the less protected segments of the population, to assist the victims of apartheid, to improve the condition of women and senior citizens, and to provide social welfare and assistance.

Cultural and political minorities must be given full protection through constitutional mechanisms which ensure their political representation and participation and power sharing. There must be a guarantee of personal and collective autonomies with special regard to cultural, educational, personal and family matters.

There must be full protection of private property and free enterprise.

Privatisation and limits to the state's direct intervention in the economy must be guaranteed. The role of the government should be to regulate not to operate the private sector.

The state must have the power to plan economic development and use monetary tools of intervention within the framework of co-ordination at federal level. Civil society shall participate in any economic planning. Monetary policies shall be determined independently from the political process by a central bank.

There must be a parliamentary form of government. Constitutional mechanisms must be provided to ensure the correct and non-politicised functioning of the public administrations, such as the civil service commission.

Constitutional mechanisms must be provided to prevent the uncontrolled growth of government, such as the civil service commission and a judicial relief commission.

There must be respect for the integrity of civil society in all forms, and civil society must be empowered to participate in the constitutional development of the state.

Constitutional mechanisms must be provided to ensure that political parties do not interpose themselves between government and individuals or social and cultural formations. There must be constitutional options to promote a political life based on the discussion of issues rather than vague ideological alliances.

Traditional and customary law shall be protected provided that it is not inconsistent with the constitution and the role of traditional leaders should be preserved.

The state shall have residual taxation powers and there shall be limits to the taxation powers of the federal government.

There must be constitutional provisions to ensure sound management of state finance, including an independent auditor and a balanced budget provision. There must be provisions to ensure the fairness of the tax system.

The independence of the judiciary must be guaranteed and the prosecuting function must be removed from political control. There must be an accountability of judges to an independent body, such as a judicial service commission which will also directly administer the judicial services.

The state must be vested with the right to organise and maintain a state militia and limits to the federal military powers in the state.

Delicate matters such as the holding of elections and the creation of constituencies shall be mandated to an independent entity such as an electoral commission, with the possibility of judicial review on its actions.

Checks and balances shall also be ensured by providing some of the independent powers with their own budgets not prepared by the government but directly submitted by them for the approval of the legislature. Qualification and guarantee for all individuals exercising public function shall be detailed to guarantee independence and prevent conflicts of interest.

There must be a strong and effective constitutional court. When possible the resolution of conflicts must be removed from the political arena and brought into the field of jurisdictional constitutional adjudication. Civil society should be empowered for this purpose.

Provision must be made for an ombudsman who shall act as a public advocate to redress and prevent human rights violations and monitor that the development of the legal system is consistent with the constitution.

ANC-Government Meet To 'Sidestep' Zulus

MB1012134092 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans
11 Dec 92 p 2

[Unattributed article published in English: "NP-ANC 'Bosberaad' Devilish Bilateral Plan to Sidestep Zulus"]

[Text] Last week's "bosberaad" [bush summit] between the Government and the ANC [African National Congress] was a tactical manoeuvre to outwit the Zulu's Inkatha Movement, according to informed government sources.

Government sources told reporters before the "bosberaad" that full details of final agreements between the government and the ANC would not be revealed to the press in order to prevent the Zulu leader, Dr. Buthelezi, from exploiting it again.

In the meantime, the ANC's Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, told SATV viewers that the ANC would run the country on a winner-take-all-basis. He made it clear that other minority parties would have no political say whatsoever and that the majority party would rule according to its political beliefs.

The ANC's influential publicity and information Secretary, Pallo Jordan, made the following comments in a recent article debunking any change in the movement's strategy and tactics:

- "I strongly contest the assertion of an objective basis for a co-operation between the regime and the ANC alliance. Objectively, the relationship between the ANC alliance and the regime is conflict-ridden."
- "Historically, the ANC's strategy was to harness every conceivable instrument of struggle into a multi-pronged offensive which would draw the broadest front of opposition into active struggle. In these terms, the ANC always reads its objectives as the seizure of power."
- "Negotiations cannot and will never be a strategy in any political conflict. Negotiation is merely an aspect

of a strategy. As such, its relative weight is far lower than that of our four major prongs of strategy. Hence, the ANC never saw any contradiction between negotiations and waging the armed struggle."

- "In the case of the national liberation struggle one or other party to the dispute must go under. Negotiations, in such a situation, are aimed at the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics."

Proposal for Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee

MB1112075992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2159
GMT 10 Dec 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the National Peace Committee, December 10, 1992]

[Text] Peace Brokers Propose a Way Forward for Ciskei The National Peace Secretariat [NPS] has proposed a possible linkage which will give the Ciskei government re-entry into to the Border regional peace structure of the National Peace Accord.

A meeting in Bisho on December 5 1992, chaired by NPS chairman, Dr. Antonie Gildenhuys and attended by NPC [National Peace Committee] chairman Mr. John Hall and a NPC delegation of Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Mr. Sydney Mufamadi, resulted in the proposal to facilitate the creation of a separate dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei.

Apart from dealing with all Ciskei related problems, this body would co-ordinate the activities of all other local dispute resolution committees in the region. It is proposed that such a committee would link into a RDRC [Regional Dispute Resolution Committee] for the Border/Ciskei area.

Because of the inextricable economic relationship between the two areas, this breakthrough is viewed as being of major significance. This suggested strategy could mark the beginning of renewed interaction and progress in the negotiation process between the two parties which over the past months, has ground to a halt.

"We hope that the Ciskei government will accept this proposal as a basis for further discussions which will lead to the resumption of their participation in the local peace structures." Says Dr. Gildenhuys.

This most recent strategy is the culmination of a number of efforts made by the National Peace Secretariat to woo the Ciskei government to once again participate in the Border/Ciskei dispute resolution committee. All participation in the activities of this body were suspended some months ago because of dissatisfaction with the composition of the existing Border/Ciskei dispute resolution, which was perceived to be loaded against them.

Initially adjudicators were appointed by the NPS, but this did not lead to a solution. Then, a special committee

consisting of four delegates each from the government and the ANC [African National Congress] met to try and resolve the impasse. They too were unsuccessful.

Hopes run high that the latest endeavour will succeed. Peace in our land.

Government Should Declare State of Emergency

*MB1112081292 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans
11 Dec 92 p 2*

[Unattributed article: "Horror Murders—CP Demands State of Emergency"]

[Text] The gruesome murders by terrorists on whites and blacks over the past weeks ought to awaken the government to a decision: So far and no further.

This was Conservative Party [CP] leader Andries Treurnicht's reaction to PATRIOT on the recent gruesome murders on whites.

The ANC's [African National Congress] secretary general's disclosures on the training of terrorists and domination by an ANC majority, elicits from everyone the question: What is the government negotiating with them [ANC], and what is the bush summit ultimately going to produce?

Another "Record of Understanding"?

So far the government's negotiation with the ANC has only led to fatal concessions for the ANC. Without defending our people's case, without the courage to maintain law and order, and without the will to ensure survival for our people, the government is drifting from one current to another, from one conference and summit to the next, to the precipice of political surrender and white enslavement.

The ANC's Pallo Jordan stated boldly in NEW NATION (13 December 92): Negotiations with another party in the freedom struggle is aimed at the liquidation of the opponent. The opponent must be grounded. The ANC's objective is the seizing of power.

To prevent power from landing in the hands of the ANC, the government must ban and fight Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing—MK]. It must never open up our security forces to MK or come under joint control of the ANC through an interim government. MK has already manifested itself in white and black communities. The government can only defuse it by resorting to firm action. We have absolutely no confidence in the government and its negotiations.

Fear of international or ANC criticism should not prevent the government from declaring a state of emergency.

The ANC has gone to the extent of carrying out its threats, namely, to unleash an onslaught on white residential areas.

That is why it is unwise and dangerous to declare white residential areas unrest areas, to ban all meetings, and then allow the ANC to march through a white area, just so that they can pose as victors.

A deadly spirit of resistance is growing.

If the government does not want or fails to protect us against the wrath of ANC terrorists, we have to implement our mobilization program accordingly. We will not tolerate an ANC government.

Does the government want to help in forcing our people to yield to an ANC majority? Then it will be making rebels out of its own people.

It already has the blood of many whites on its hands.

Debt Burden Squeezing Out Many Farmers

*MB1012150192 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in
English 9 Dec 92 p 3*

[By Ray Hartley]

[Text] SA farmers will have to shoulder an accumulated debt of R[Rand]18bn [billion] without assistance from government—leading to the sequestration of thousands of "high risk" farmers in the next 18 months.

Agriculture official Mike Walters said yesterday the gradual increase in sequestrations over the last decade would continue, with fewer and fewer farmers receiving production credit. He said government was moving away from involvement in agricultural loans and much of the R3.8bn allocated to agricultural relief would in fact go to liquidating existing credit guarantees.

A commercial bank's agricultural economist said marginal farmers who lacked the managerial and financial skills to manage their debt would find they would have to leave agriculture. Although this would negatively affect commercial farming and the rural areas in the short term, it would ultimately lead to a greater efficiency and make SA farmers more competitive in relation to their international counterparts, the source said. Commercial banks had begun applying stricter criteria to loans to farmers and the low interest rates offered by government subsidised co-operatives and the Land Bank would not apply in the near future.

SA Agricultural Union deputy director Jack Raath said the problem was not the size of the agricultural debt, but the fact that interest rates were high and the outlook for the economy remained gloomy. The average debt load was in the "danger zone" of 23 percent-24 percent of farmers' assets—much higher than the desired 15 percent of assets, he said. Up to 40 percent of SA's agricultural debt was owed to commercial banks, while the Land Bank had lent 25 percent to farmers, with co-operatives and government making up 25 percent and 5 percent respectively of the remainder.

The reduction of government involvement in subsidising and financing farmers was consistent with GATT agreements presently being negotiated, which would lead to a lowering of European subsidies to farmers, he said. SA farmers were at present less subsidised than their European and U.S. counterparts and would benefit from the implementation of GATT, which would increase the international grain price by between 16 percent and 30 percent, Raath said. The GATT agreement would, however, also lead to greater foreign competition on SA's domestic markets and a rise in local grain prices, the agricultural economist said.

The accumulated R18bn debt of SA's farmers was the result of years of inappropriate subsidisation which had worsened the effects of the drought, IDT [Independent Development Trust] relief consultant Steyn du Plessis said. In the past farmers had switched from livestock to cash-crop farming in areas where cyclical drought conditions made this inappropriate, leading to the sudden decline in agricultural production during dry years, he said. Du Plessis said inappropriate subsidisation had come about in the past when the farming community had a disproportionate influence on government.

Statistical Service Reports Employment Figures

MB1012144192 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1316
GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Pretoria Dec 10 SAPA—The Central Statistical Service [CSS] estimates 37.5 per cent of the total South African population to have been economically active in 1991, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Thursday.

The CSS defines "economically active" as people who were working or unemployed but looking for work.

According to data released by the CSS on the population census in March last year, figures for economically active women have increased substantially since 1960.

From 1960 to 1991 the proportion of economically active white women increased from 19 to 36.7 percent, the proportion of coloured women increased by half, and the proportion of black women about doubled.

One of every 20 Asian women were economically active in 1960, and about one in four in 1991.

11 December Review of Current Events, Issues

MB1112135692

[Editorial Report]

SOWETAN

Somali Must 'Watch Out' for Media in Somalia— "Actually, between the media and the marines, we are not sure who must watch out in Somalia," declares a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 11 December. "When the U.S. Marines landed on the beaches of Somalia one night this week, they came

prepared with high-tech night sights. But as the U.S.-led forces lit up the skies above Baghdad last year, so too did the U.S.-led Press corps with the television lights in the strife-torn African country. As the marines landed—like Santa Claus in the night—the place lit up like a Christmas tree. To the Americans, the Second Coming will probably be a media event."

Country 'Rudderless Ship'—On page 15 Joe Tholoe asks in his "Perspective" column: "Is it possible that radicals within APLA [African People's Liberation Army] found a way to discredit the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] negotiators? It is common knowledge that a faction calling itself the Watchdogs of the Revolution, which the leadership has dismissed as a mad fringe with no real clout within the party, has been opposed to the PAC's tentative steps to negotiations. Is it possible that APLA feels that the PAC is ignoring it as it takes the route of negotiations and this is its way of asserting itself within the PAC and national politics? Is it possible that the 'Third Force' has found another way to discredit negotiations? The right-wing hysteria and the rush in the Eastern Cape to buy arms show clearly who benefits from the killings." Tholoe also believes the country has "entered another plane in our descent into anarchy. Any man with a gun or a handgrenade can hold the negotiation process to ransom." Instead of the negotiating parties getting together to talk about the attack, they "break off talks through the media." "At the moment, observers, the millions who are not in the leadership of the various parties, are left confused and anxious, with a feeling that we are on a rudderless ship."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Buthelezi Risks Long-Term Credibility—"American friends warned Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi some time ago that during his trips to the U.S. he should avoid being pulled into the well-organised rightwing network led by the Heritage Foundation," notes a page 24 editorial in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 11-17 December. "He ignored them, and alienated himself from the Washington mainstream. Now he is hanging out with the far-rightwing of South African politics. Once again, for short-term gain, he is risking long-term credibility." This is important because he is threatening to force through a regional referendum on a federal constitution. In the end, the testing ground is "going to be the ballot box rather than the battlefield. It is only in a test of popular strength, rather than of access to Military Intelligence support and training, that the importance of Buthelezi can be established once and for all."

NEW NATION

APLA Violence 'Opportunistic'—Referring to possible APLA attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown, Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 11-17 December in a page 18 editorial states: "We find APLA's acts reprehensible by virtue of the fact that negotiations are once more back on track and, by the

PAC's own admission, constitutional negotiations are the path that we must now travel." However, the APLA "activities" raised some fundamental questions about the nature of South African society, "where white lives are much more important than black lives." "Why is it right to arm farmers and farm workers in the Eastern Cape against possible future attacks yet deny many communities the right to defend themselves through Self

Defence Units [?]" Nevertheless, "at the height of repression when people were dying at the hands of the regime, APLA was neither seen nor heard. Surely it is opportunistic to launch campaigns of violence at a point when the majority of our people have chosen negotiations. Those who are armed must know that ultimately it is not they who choose how struggle is to be prosecuted, but the people themselves."

Angola

Military Officers Sworn in 10 December

MB1012211892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The members of the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] were sworn-in today at a ceremony held at the Ministry of Defense and presided over by Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale. During the ceremony, the officers promoted to the military ranks of generals, lieutenant generals, and brigadiers, swore their loyalty to the fatherland. Joao Baptista de Matos, chief of the FAA General Staff and army general, spoke at the ceremony.

[De Matos] "[Words indistinct] hotbeds of tension almost throughout the country, today we are witnessing a war mounted by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. UNITA has been involved in armed actions which have led to the occupation of areas of the national territory, thus once again placing our people on the verge of a tragedy. Despite the efforts, the good sense, and political and diplomatic actions carried out by the government to end the war, [words indistinct] lamentably, UNITA continues determined to carry out violent actions to (?usurp) power."

Joao Baptista de Matos feels that [words indistinct] approved plans.

[De Matos] "The establishment of the FAA forces cannot any longer continue to be conditioned to the political solution, inasmuch as they have the duty to defend the integrity of the fatherland and democracy and cannot therefore relinquish their responsibilities. The situation being experienced in the country forces us to adopt some measures to rapidly establish the FAA forces so that they can truly fulfill their role during this Second Republic. Following the appointment of the new officers, the Angolan National Army now has a renewed leadership whose principal mission at the present moment is to organize and lead our country's defense."

On the present situation in the country, General Joao de Matos said following UNITA's intransigence to continue with the war, there is no other alternative but to mobilize the people for the defense of the country.

[De Matos] "In the face of the intransigence of the UNITA leadership to continue with the war in order to prolong the suffering of the Angolan people, we have no other alternative but to once again mobilize our entire people, particularly the youth, to defend the democratic gains achieved by the Angolan people. Meanwhile, we would like to take this opportunity to inform the national and international communities that whereas the FAA forces continue to be faithful to the Bicesse accords, they cannot continue to be indifferent to the existing situation in the country."

Further on UNITA Officials Joining Government

Participation Not Confirmed

MB1012203892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The government has not yet obtained any official information from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] announcing the appointment of its members to the government, the Armed Forces, and the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM]. A government source told Radio Nacional that by early this evening the government had not yet received any official information from UNITA confirming its decision to participate in the government and return to the CCPM.

The National Assembly Secretariat has so far not received any communication from UNITA regarding the appointment of the vice chairman of the National Assembly and other UNITA members identified to occupy seats in parliament. A source from the National Assembly said all the information it has so far obtained has been through the news media.

Generals Decline Command Posts

MB1012174192 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The new commander of the Angolan Armed Forces, General Joao Matos, has warned the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement to keep its latest pledge to honor the peace accords reached with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government in May 1991, or face a renewed civil war.

Speaking at the swearing in ceremony of the new military command in Luanda, General Matos said the Angolan armed forces could not continue to wait for a political solution if UNITA did not stop its mobilization and end its undeclared war during which it had occupied about 75 percent of Angola in recent weeks. Hopes for a negotiated settlement rose yesterday when UNITA announced that it was ready to join the new government of national unity.

However, UNITA generals have declined to take up senior posts offered to them in the new military command.

Moco Discusses Participation in Frontline Summit

MB1112085092 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Marcolino Moco by unidentified People's Television of Angola reporter in Luanda on 10 December—first two paragraphs are studio introduction; recorded]

[Text] Harare, the Zimbabwean capital, will host from tomorrow the summit of Frontline heads of state. Prime

Minister Marcolino Moco left Luanda today for Zimbabwe, where he will be representing our country at the summit.

On arrival there, Prime Minister Moco was paid military honors befitting a head of state, and was subsequently welcomed by members of the Zimbabwean Government. The six Frontline states are Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe and are to seek a common position regarding southern Africa's problems. Special attention will be paid to Angola's profound political crisis. Prior to his departure, Marcolino Moco spoke about the aims of tomorrow's meeting:

[Moco] [Begin recording] It will be as dynamic as possible, so we can contribute toward consolidating peace in our country, and in southern Africa.

[Reporter] In concrete terms, what is expected to be achieved at the summit?

[Moco] I am hoping for good results.

[Reporter] What, specifically, is Angola going to present at the summit?

[Moco] We will be informing neighboring African countries about the real situation in our country, the problems that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has been causing in Angola, and the proposals we have been putting forth concerning a solution to this artificial crisis created by UNITA.

[Reporter] Seeing that you mention UNITA, has it officially presented its members in the government and Parliament?

[Moco] Yes, that is public knowledge. We all heard about it. Now, we are waiting for official communications, and then we shall see what to do within the framework of ongoing contacts.

[Reporter] Will the South African problem also be discussed?

[Moco] I think so.

[Reporter] The government has set the condition that UNITA must respect the Bicesse Accords in order for its officials to join the government. Does that mean that we will have to return to the first stage of the peace process, even prior to the holding of elections?

[Moco] That is indispensable. [end recording]

MPLA Statement Notes U.S. 'Encouraging Role'

MB1112092592 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Statement issued by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Political Bureau on the occasion of the party's 36th anniversary; place, date not given]

[Text] On 10 December 1956, the Angolan patriots united in the MPLA to produce the fundamental tool for satisfying their desire for independence, national unity, peace, freedom, and well-being. The epic struggle for national liberation, dignity, and independence of our country, its defense against foreign-backed aggression, and the subsequent struggle for the affirmation of the identity of the Angolan people, and their well-being, turned the MPLA into an obligatory participant in the search for the resolution of the problems confronting the country.

We are celebrating the MPLA's 36th anniversary at a time when the Angolan situation is extremely complex, and heading toward a dangerous outcome, unless pertinent measures are taken to dissuade National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] from its ambition to take over by force. In fact, we believe generalizations must be avoided, and we are working toward that end. Nevertheless, the Angolan people simply cannot continue accepting that UNITA-caused death and destruction should remain part and parcel of our daily lives. To end the current crisis, UNITA must rigorously abide by the following conditions:

- To recognize the validity of the Angolan peace accords;
- To unambiguously recognize the results of the 29-30 September elections;
- To disarm effectively, under verification;
- To return the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] men to the FAA [Angolan Armed Forces];
- To evolve toward becoming a true political party;
- To allow the full and effective restoration of state administration to every part of Angolan territory, and not, contrary to what is often claimed, the cities of Uige and Negage alone;

We believe that the patience of the people, who suffer UNITA's horrible crimes daily, must be correctly interpreted by the organs of sovereignty that recently came into being, so that the necessary response can be given to those who have placed themselves above the law, and persist in their rejection of democratic coexistence. Should this not be respected, the competent state organs must use every means at their disposal to restore the legality freely endorsed by the people on 29 and 30 September.

The MPLA has always expressed its willingness to form a government of national unity that would include figures from different sections of the political spectrum. The first government of the Second Republic is not, therefore, a coalition government. The Angolan people cannot allow an organization such as UNITA to act against the organs they freely voted for. By resorting to terrorist methods, UNITA seeks to continue the war in order to satisfy its leader's appetite for war. The end of war eased the international situation, and brought hope of a new era of peace for mankind.

The United Nations has decisively increased its role of settling conflicts in many parts of the world. In Angola, we believe more incisive measures are needed to ensure UN decisions are complied with, thereby safeguarding that organization's prestige, and allowing it to increase its role for the sake of a future of peace, democracy, and social justice for all mankind. Thus, failure to abide by UN decisions must be strongly condemned by the international community as a whole, and forceful measures must be taken to prevent offenders continuing their violations, especially when they daily claim innocent lives.

Within this context, the encouraging role played by the United States regarding the implementation of UN decisions meets with a particularly well defined problem in Angola, because the UNITA has been clearly identified as the offender. In line with that, we would like to salute the stands taken by more and more sections of the U.S. public, including the U.S. Congress, for peace in Angola. We believe those stands must evolve toward recognition of the Angolan Government by the U.S. Administration.

Angolan people, militants, sympathizers, and friends of the MPLA: This anniversary occurs on the eve of two traditional festive occasions in our country: Christmas and the New Year. Those festivities come at a time when many Angolan families are in mourning, and grieve over the many hideous crimes UNITA has committed in every part of the country. In view of this, Angolans everywhere in our country are urged to step up their vigilance to abort all criminal attempts by enemies of peace, especially during the upcoming festivities.

The MPLA will always know how to live up to its responsibilities toward the people, and how to defend peace, democracy, social justice, and the citizens' human rights.

Botswana

Government, Nigeria Sign Economic, Technical Pact

MB0712201392 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1910 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Botswana and Nigeria today signed an agreement on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in Gaborone.

The agreement was signed by the acting minister of finance and development planning, Mr. Ronald Sebege, and Nigeria's minister of state for foreign affairs, Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim. The agreement covers a wide range of issues of common interest between the two countries. Speaking at the ceremony Mr. Sebege said the agreement is a reflection of the spirit of South-South cooperation. He said Nigeria has renowned educational facilities and expressed the hope that the agreement will open avenues for student exchange programs. Mr. Sebege also talked about Botswana's economic status, saying the country needs to diversify from the mineral base.

For his part Ambassador Ibrahim expressed the hope that the agreement showed commitment of the two countries towards achieving economic integration through the African economic community which was established in 1991. He said his country is committed to policies aimed at economic liberalization adding that since 1989 his government's liberalization policies have strengthened the private sector and created abundant opportunities for foreign and domestic investors with a view to achieving a self-sustaining national economy.

Ambassador Ibrahim commended the role of the private sector in Botswana and said Botswana will soon join a league of developing countries participating in Nigeria's technical aid program.

Masire Departs for Frontline Summit

MB1012171392 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1610 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The President, Sir Ketumile Masire, left Gaborone this afternoon for Harare, Zimbabwe, to attend a one-day Frontline summit which begins tomorrow.

Angola will be the focus at the meeting. The meeting, which will also be attended by the leaders of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Namibia and Angola, will decide what action to take in order to restore peace to the Angolan people. It will also discuss events in South Africa. Sir Ketumile is accompanied by the minister for foreign affairs, Dr. Gaositwe Chiepe, and government officials. He was seen off at the Sir Seretse Khama International Airport by the permanent secretary to the president, Mr. Elijah Legwaila, the commissioner of police and the commander of the Botswana Defense Force.

Sir Ketumile and his entourage are expected back home tomorrow afternoon.

Zambia

Reports of UNITA Invasion in Denied

MB1012185592 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Zambian police headquarters in Lusaka has denied reports that some parts of Zambia's Western Province have been invaded by foreign troops from Angola.

The police were responding to reports which reached Lusaka last week saying UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] soldiers had raided a state ranch in the Senanga District of the province and stole 31 cattle after assaulting a herd boy. The police spokesman said the theft of the cattle was committed by people working at the ranch.

He said all the cattle had been recovered and that two villagers were being held to help with investigations.

Minister on Situation Along Angolan Border

*MB1012201492 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 10 Dec 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Since the weekend, there have been reports of serious insecurity in western Zambia, near the Angolan border. The reports have spoken of an influx of refugees from the renewed UNITA military activity in northern Angola. It has also been reported that armed men, believed to be UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] soldiers, have been harassing Zambian villagers and that in one incident bandits raided a state ranch at Senanga and made off with more than 30 cattle. On the line to Lusaka, Josephine Hazeley asked Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba what he made of those reports.

[Zimba] There had been mistaken action by one farmer, that is one worker at the farm, that is a Zambian worker in Senanga who stole 31 head of cattle.

[Hazeley] So, let me get this clear. It was a Zambian who stole the cattle, not an Angolan?

[Zimba] No. This worker has by now been apprehended and arrested by the police, Zambian police. So, he stole these cattle and scattered them in different kraals and the situation is under control. So, it was mistaken that it was Angolan people who might have come to get the cattle, but it was one worker at one farm.

[Hazeley] Well, I am pleased you have cleared that up because we had a report about the people being bandits who are UNITA members. How is security now on the border with Angola?

[Zimba] The security is stable, as far as we are concerned, both in Western Province, that is Senanga, Mongu, Zambezi area, the situation within the borders, is calm.

[Hazeley] Do you have troops patrolling to keep the peace and not to allow any more UNITA or refugees to come through or what?

[Zimba] We have got our men around those areas and, as far as we are concerned, those were precautionary measures we took, the situation is completely under control. [sentence as heard]

[Hazeley] What about the general level of refugees. Are you fed up with the fact that you always have to entertain or look after so many Angolans?

[Zimba] The level of refugees has been the same because most of them did not go back. We had only managed to send back about 1,500 refugees who out of that number, very little has come back.

[Hazeley] So you are quite happy with, you know, the refugee situation right now in your country and especially in the Western region of Zambia?

[Zimba] We are praying that the leaders in Angola will find sense in coming together so that they should avoid unnecessary movements of their nationals. We are quite happy at present.

Zimbabwe**Mugabe Meets With Mozambican Leaders 10 Dec**

*MB1112115192 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 11 Dec 92*

[Text] Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano held a lengthy meeting with Robert Mugabe, his Zimbabwean counterpart, in Harare last night. The Mozambican head of state is in the Zimbabwean capital to attend a Frontline Summit convening at Angola's request. Apparently, it will deal with the matter of South African aircraft violating Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe air space. Pretoria is accused of violating the air space of those three countries for the purpose of taking supplies to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

Zimbabwe's President Mugabe had previously held a meeting of nearly two hours with Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], who arrived in Harare on 9 December. Renamo Leader Dhlakama has announced, meanwhile, that Zimbabwe and Kenya will be part of the Supervision and Control Commission [CSC], and of the team that will be responsible for disarming Mozambican Government and Renamo troops. Dhlakama justified his statement by saying that Zimbabwe and Kenya are the two countries that began contacts in an effort to bring Mozambique's warring factions closer together. He added Zimbabwe also had very good ground knowledge because it had sent troops to this country.

The Renamo leader has agreed Zimbabwe should maintain its forces in Mozambique until the United Nations sends enough forces to our country.

Chissano, Dhlakama Meet in Harare 11 Dec

*MB1112105292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 11 Dec 92*

[Report by Radio Mozambique reporter Machado da Graca on statements by Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance, in Harare on 11 December—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Da Graca] Yet another Frontline Summit opens in Harare today and it will principally discuss the Angolan crisis. President Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], are also in the Zimbabwean capital and, in fact, met alone for about 90 minutes at State House this morning. Both said at the end the meeting had

permitted an exchange of ideas to facilitate the continued implementation of the Mozambican peace process. In a short statement, President Joaquim Chissano said he and Dhlakama had looked at the situation in Mozambique.

[Chissano] "Well, this meeting was rather a coincidence because Mr. Dhlakama was visiting this country for talk with President Mugabe, and that was when he learned that I was about to arrive. He decided to wait to (?discuss) and clarify certain aspects of our peace process. During our (?short) meeting, we analyzed the situation, and we believe the process will go forward. Naturally, we do not expect any difficulties. The incidents of the past belong to the past itself, and there is a good spirit concerning the preservation of peace, and the implementation of certain details in the accord we signed in Rome."

[Da Graca] In turn, Afonso Dhlakama confirmed President Joaquim Chissano's words, and he added he had conveyed his organization's concern about the transfer of Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] soldiers to the Mozambican Police.

[Dhlakama] "I raised an issue that concerns us. That issue concerns the transfer of army soldiers, and certain SISE [State Information and Security Service] agents to the police. I asked why that was happening, and he explained that it was very necessary for the police force to be strengthened. I noted, however, that that had not been written into the accord. The accord states the police are there, but there is no mention that the government alone can transfer army soldiers to the police. I conveyed my concern, but he replied that Renamo should not be afraid, because it is normal for army troops to become part of the police. Nonetheless, I continue to draw his attention to the fact that this could lead to problems, because so far the Mozambican Government has been so in a one-party system, and that the military forces, including all Frelimo, army, and People's National Security Service elements, were members of and belonged to the party. They are party members even now. If they are going to beef up the police, that police may not act impartially in the future."

[Da Graca] While this meeting was taking place at State House, the summit of Frontline heads of state and government was opening at the Sheraton Hotel.

Maputo Radio Reports Dhlakama's Zimbabwe Visit

MB1012171892 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader Afonso Dhlakama said in Harare yesterday that

he is not worried about the presence of Zimbabwean soldiers in Mozambique, as long as they abstain from participating in military actions. Dhlakama arrived in Harare yesterday and he is expected to meet with Zimbabwean head of state Robert Mugabe, with whom he will discuss the Mozambican peace process.

The Renamo leader said he hoped the meeting would contribute toward speeding up the peace process in our country, given Robert Mugabe's influence on both parties, namely the government and Renamo.

Also speaking in Harare, Afonso Dhlakama said he believes he will be in Maputo before the end of the year, as long as conditions have been created. He was referring to the provision of housing by the the government.

President Joaquim Chissano said in the city of Pemba, Cabo Delgado Province, recently that the Renamo leader would be in Maputo before the end of the year.

UN Asked To Speed Up Mozambique Peace Process

MB1112083792 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1910 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The leader of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], Mr. Afonso Dhlakama has called on the United Nations to speed up the Mozambique peace process, saying the Mozambique Government was dragging its feet in implementing the agreed program. He made the call today in Harare, where he is supposed to meet President Robert Mugabe, to discuss the Mozambique peace accord. He said he was ready to move from his bush headquarters in central Mozambique to the capital, Maputo, as soon as government found him suitable accommodation.

Zambian President Arrives for Frontline Summit

MB1012193192 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] President Chiluba arrived in the Zimbabwean capital, Harare, this afternoon to attend an (?ordinary) Frontline heads of state summit tomorrow at Harare International Conference Center. Mr. Chiluba, who is accompanied by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Wendy Sinkala, was met on arrival at Harare International Airport by President Robert Mugabe and Zambia's High Commissioner to Zimbabwe (Katataka Kasihuka) and several top Zimbabwean government officials. The summit will also discuss the Angolan situation. African National Congress President Nelson Mandela is also expected to brief the frontliners on the latest developments in South Africa, while the Pan-Africanist Congress will also be in attendance.

Liberia

Taylor 'Again' Refuses To Disarm to ECOMOG

AB1012214092 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Monrovia, Dec 10 (AFP) - Hours before meeting the U.N. special envoy to Liberia, rebel leader Charles Taylor again refused Thursday [10 December] to surrender his men's arms to the Nigerian-led force that has driven them back from the capital.

"It is impossible and unreasonable for anyone to think that the NPFL (National Patriotic Front of Liberia) will disarm under the supervision of ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]," Taylor's rebel Radio Gbarnga quoted him as saying.

Fighting between the multi-national West African ECOMOG force and the NPFL was reportedly taking place some 20 kilometres (13 miles) distant from Monrovia, to which Taylor's rebels laid siege on October 15.

Taylor said the ECOMOG troops, sent to Liberia in 1990 by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), should be "replaced with a neutral force, preferably a U.N. force." [passage omitted]

The rebel leader has said he will abide by a U.N. Security Council call for the rival Liberian factions to cease fire, but accuses ECOMOG of having "become one of the warring factions." [passage omitted]

Radio: 'Plot' To Attack UN Envoy's Convoy

AB1112094092 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] A plot by the Central Monrovia Administration and its West African forces of aggression and occupation to intimidate the people of Greater Liberia in the wake of the UN special envoy's visit to Greater Liberia has been uncovered. According to the plot, the Monrovia group and the Nigerian-led forces of aggression and occupation have planned to fly jet bombers over all major towns and cities in Greater Liberia prior to the UN special envoy's arrival in Greater Liberia to create panic among the people. ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] has also planned to use jet bombers to kill the convoy of the UN special envoy while inspecting sites that are indiscriminately bombed by ECOMOG jet bombers as part of the campaign to commit atrocities against the people of Greater Liberia and drag the Liberian peace process.

This latest move by the Sawyer group and some West African leaders comes in the wake of statements to the UN envoy by the two groups that less than 300,000 people live in Greater Liberia. The move is intended to give the impression that three-fourths of the Liberian population lives in Monrovia. Meanwhile, government is urging citizens throughout the country to remain calm,

as the plot by Sawyer and his West African conspirers is only designed to drive them into the bushes in order to discourage the UN envoy.

UN Envoy Urged To Avoid Travel in War Zones

AB1112095092 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] President Charles Gankay Taylor said the creation of additional armed groups by the Monrovia Administration and their West African friends will make disarmament impossible. He said the entire population is now involved in the present upsurge in fighting in the country. The president said disarmament is only possible with a neutral peacekeeping force which he hopes to see after the visit of the UN special envoy.

At the same time, a planned [word indistinct] of negative propaganda to deter Ambassador Gordon-Somers' visit to Greater Liberia by the Monrovia Group has been disclosed by President Taylor. He said it is part of the (?plan to try) to delay the peace in Liberia.

The National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly [NPRA] leader said this is not going to work as Ambassador Gordon-Somers is going to see for himself with his own working agenda. The president said while [words indistinct] meeting of the UN envoy with all Liberians including interest groups and church leaders. He warned Ambassador Gordon-Somers to avoid travelling through the war zones saying if something should go wrong, detractors of the NPRA Government could spread lies and capitalize on the issue. President Taylor said the UN envoy will be coming to Greater Liberia through the Liberia-Ivorian border.

NPFL Says Front Still Controls White Plains

AB1012211992 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 10 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] While the siege of Monrovia, the Liberian capital, by Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] continues, the biggest battles in the last few days have apparently been around White Plains, which is the source of Monrovia's water supply, a few miles northeast of the city. The NPFL began putting pressure on the West African ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force and its allies, such as ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia], in the middle of October. And yesterday, ULIMO claimed it had captured White Plains from the NPFL. But the NPFL disputes that. On the line, Elizabeth Ohene asked NPFL Minister John Richardson what the situation was, according to them.

[Begin recording] [Richardson] Our men are still in Caldwell, Barnersville, New Georgia, and White Plains. If you

know the geography of Liberia, those three areas of Monrovia, those three areas are on the perimeter of White Plains. Our men are still in those three areas, and yes, we do still maintain that we are holding White Plains.

[Ohene] But there has been fighting there, though.

[Richardson] Yes, as with an everyday occurrence, the ECOMOG forces continue to bombard by air and land many of our areas and, yes, they do bombard those areas and try to get into them. But they have been unable and unsuccessful in doing that.

[Ohene] Did you lose it temporarily though and then recaptured it?

[Richardson] No, we did not lose it. To get to White Plains you must first have Caldwell, Barnersville, [place-name indistinct], Johnsonville, Bensonville, and they have never had those areas.

[Ohene] So, I take it that you are still controlling the water treatment plant for Monrovia?

[Richardson] The water treatment plant for Monrovia was bombarded by ECOMOG several weeks ago. We made that clear. They are across the St. Paul River and they continue to lob 60-mm grenades into that area. And so the water treatment plant, as will be electrical or hydro, has been damaged by ECOMOG and we have made this clear.

[Ohene] Yes, but there seems to be some kind of agreement that you rather have destroyed or, at least, damaged the plant.

[Richardson] Oh, I do not know whose agreement that was, okay. We learned from your reliable radio that they took the press for a tour of Gardnersville to show the destruction. But Gardnersville was destroyed from aerial bombing. I personally went into that area to rescue the orphans and many of the citizens. And at the time the entire facility with all the housing estates were intact and

many of the homes were locked. They bombard the area daily with air planes and anyone in Monrovia or in the environment can see that.

[Ohene] So, apart from these bombardments, is there any fighting at all going on the ground?

[Richardson] Yes, there is. We are under constant penetration attacks by ECOMOG. And what we have found is if we do relinquish any area—and I am talking about small areas of land—they then move in the late afternoon and evening with ULIMO or the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia] and then announce on the radio that area has been captured by ULIMO or AFL. [end recording]

Nigeria

Senate, House of Representatives Elect Officials

AB1112113092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The National Assembly today resumed sitting with the election of the remaining officers for the two houses. The Senate elected a former vice chancellor of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Senator Wande Abimbola, from Oyo Central Senatorial District, as its majority leader, and Senator Bennet Irabi from Rivers East Senatorial District as the minority leader.

The post of the majority whip went to Senator Ibrahim Musa Kazaure from Jigawa State while that of minority whip was won by Senator Uba Ahmed from Bauchi East Senatorial District. All the officers were returned unopposed.

In the House of Representatives, Alhaji Sani Dahiru el-Katuzu, representing Bade Federal Constituency of Yobe, was elected the majority leader, and Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu Gwandu from Gwandu Federal Constituency of Kebbi State as the minority leader, while Mr. Etuk Aloysius Akpan, representing Ekono Federal Constituency of Akwa Ibom State, was elected minority whip.

However, the SDP [Social Democratic Party] is yet to agree on its nominee for the post of majority leader. [passage omitted]

END OF

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14 DEC 1992

